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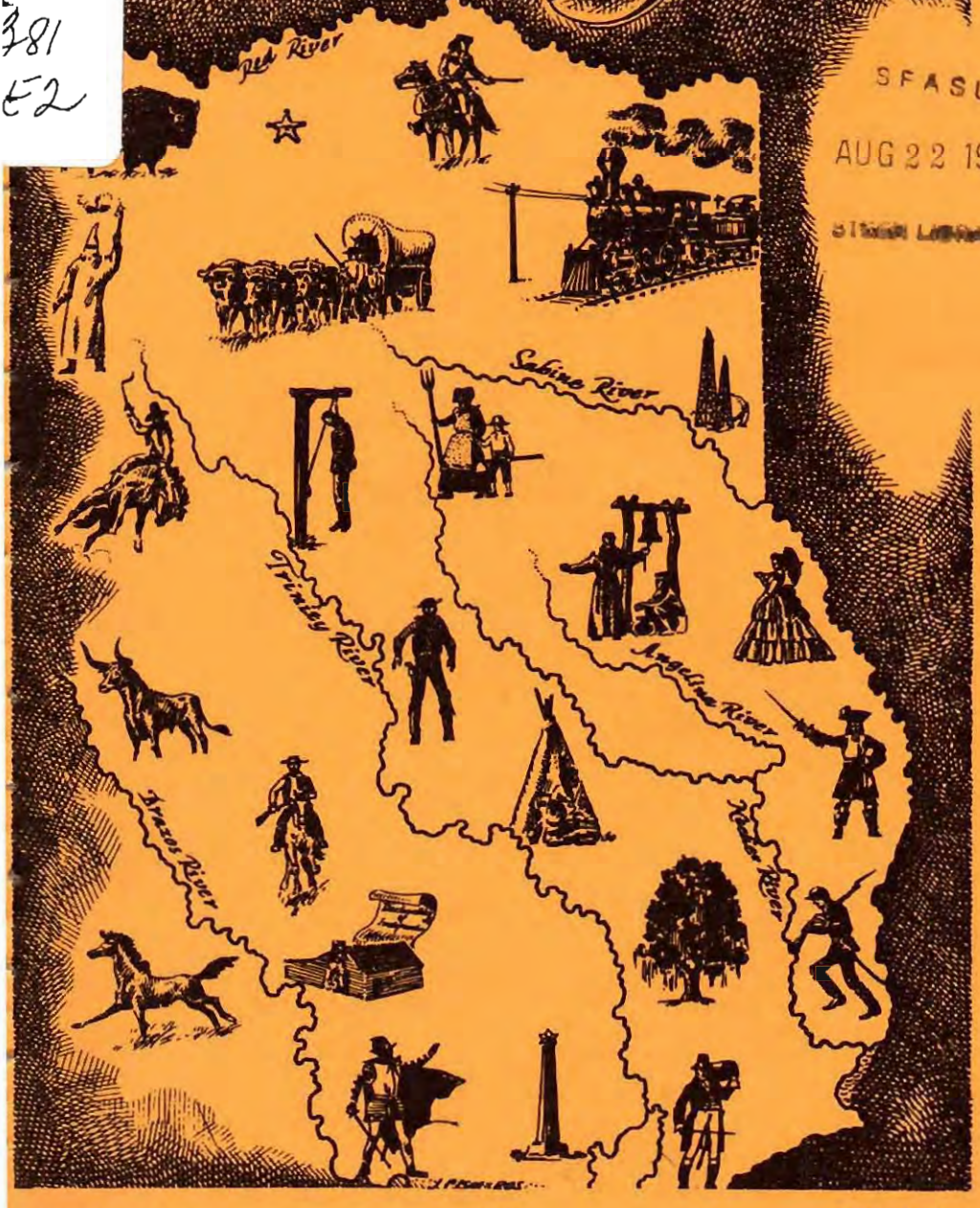

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES

GOVERNOR MIRIAM A. FERGUSON

by Ralph W. Steen

January 20, 1925 was a beautiful day in Austin, Texas, and thousands of people converged on the city to pay tribute to the first woman to serve the state as governor. Long before time for the inaugural ceremony to begin every space in the gallery of the House of Representatives was taken and thousands who could not gain admission blocked hallways and stood outside the capitol. After brief opening ceremonies, Chief Justice C.M. Cureton administered the oath of office to Lieutenant Governor Barry Miller and then to Governor Miriam A. Ferguson. Pat M. Neff, the retiring governor, introduced Mrs. Ferguson to the audience and she delivered a brief inaugural address.

The governor called for heart in government, proclaimed political equality for women, and asked for the good will and the prayers of the women of Texas. The address closed with the statement; "With love for all, with malice toward none, trusting in God, I consecrate my life to my state."

Several bands were in Austin for the inauguration but most attention focused on the 142nd Infantry Band, widely known as the Old Gray Mare Band. The reason for the interest was the association with the band of May Peterson (Mrs. E.O. Thompson), a star of the Metropolitan Opera. During the ceremony, the band played and Miss Peterson sang "The Eyes of Texas" as the inaugural party entered the House Chamber, "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet" when Mrs. Ferguson was introduced, "The Star Spangled Banner" after Mrs. Ferguson's address, and "Dixie" as the inaugural party left the hall.

In the governor's office, Mrs. Ferguson discovered that Neff had left a Bible for her open at Psalms 119, verse 115: "Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path." It was a verse which became one of her favorites. The new governor was a calm and most dignified individual and the *Dallas News* declared that the candidate of ginghams and bonnet had been replaced by a handsomely dressed woman of charm. The path which Mrs. Ferguson followed from birth on a Bell County farm to the governor's office led her in many directions including an earlier stop at the governor's mansion.

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Miriam Amanda Wallace was born June 13, 1875 and was one of six children of Joseph Wallace and Eliza Garrison Ferguson Wallace. Her parents owned a substantial amount of land and were looked upon as one of the more wealthy families in Bell County. At the time of Miriam's birth, a boy named James Edward Ferguson was approaching his fourth birthday on a farm about seven miles from the Wallace farm. Jim Ferguson and Miriam Wallace were to share much of their lives. Had he lived, the first husband of Mrs. Wallace would have been Jim's uncle.

Miriam Wallace spent some time in a public school and, on other occasions, was taught by a tutor who lived in the Wallace home. She attended Salado College for two years and Baylor College for Women in Belton for a short while. Life in the Wallace family underwent a major change in 1898 with the death of Mr. Wallace, but the family was left with large land holdings and a substantial amount of cash. After the death of Mr. Wallace, James E. Ferguson who was working his way up the economic ladder in Belton, found it necessary to visit his aunt on numerous occasions to discuss matters of finance. Other matters were discussed also and on December 31, 1899 Ferguson and Miriam Wallace were married. They lived in Belton in a white cottage with red trim, a gift of the brides's mother. Two daughters, Ouida and Dorrace, were born to the Fergusons.

In 1906, the Fergusons sold their share of a bank in Belton which Jim had managed and moved to Temple where he organized the Temple State Bank and became its president. The Ferguson home in Temple, located only a few blocks from the center of town, was typical of the homes of successful businessmen of the period. It was a two-story house with nine rooms, two galleries and the inevitable cupola. Jim, who never learned that there are strangers in the world, was well liked in Temple and the bank prospered. Mrs. Ferguson, on the other hand, never learned the art of being nice to people whom she didn't like, and was noted for lack of tact and diplomacy. She took no part in club affairs and very little part in church affairs. One reason may have been that her health was not good. A more important reason was her devotion to her home and her children. To a woman of Mrs. Ferguson's character and lack of interest in public affairs, the decision of her husband to become a candidate for governor must have been a great shock.

James E. Ferguson, a man who had never held any political office, announced late in 1913 that he would be a candidate for governor in the Democratic primaries of 1914. His announcement elicited little response and most observers felt that he was wasting

his time and his money. A number of things worked in his favor, not the least of which was his remarkable ability as a campaigner. During the campaign, he had the support of most anti-prohibitionists, although a number of anti-prohibition leaders opposed him, and he won the lasting support of thousands of tenant farmers and owners of small farms. To the surprise of many Texans, probably including Mrs. Ferguson, he won both the Democratic nomination and the election. The result was that in January, 1915 the Ferguson family moved into the governor's mansion.

Austin in 1915 was a city of about 29,000 people, and in a city of that size there was no possible way for the wife of the governor to ignore the people around her. The Austin social world in 1915 was made up of three groups: the old Austin families, the university people, and the politicians. It was difficult for a person to move in more than one group as the old families looked upon the politicians as upstarts and incompetents, and the politicians looked upon the old families as snobs. The university people, or the university crowd, as Ferguson ultimately came to call them, had little in common with either of the other groups. Mrs. Ferguson quickly realized that she needed help in steering a course through this confused social world and employed a social secretary to assist her. She was the first wife of a Texas governor to have a social secretary and some opponents tried to make political capital of this, but with little success. As a matter of fact, the demands upon the mistress of the mansion were growing along with the growth of the state and the government.

During the Ferguson administration, the mansion was definitely not a center of social activity, but Mrs. Ferguson did hold the required receptions and dinners, had family parties, and invited distinguished visitors to be her guests. Mrs. Ferguson was a strict prohibitionist in practice and no alcohol ever found its way into one of her punch bowls. One guest is said to have commented that there was not a conversation in a bowl of her punch. She did, of course, make public appearances with the governor.

Ferguson easily won reelection in 1916, but the bright political picture turned dark in 1917 as the governor managed to get himself impeached during the first year of his second term. He was convicted by the Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment, was removed from office, and was made ineligible to hold any office of trust or profit under the State of Texas. Thus it was that in the fall of 1917 the Fergusons returned to Temple, and Mrs. Ferguson was even less interested in social affairs than she had been before. She had the firm conviction that the impeachment

proceedings were "the blackest page in Texas history." They suffered serious financial losses as a result of their political difficulties but by no means lived in poverty.

Governor Ferguson did not react to impeachment by retiring from politics. Instead, he began publication of a newspaper named *The Ferguson Forum* which his enemies called *The Ferguson For Rum* and which he spoke of as his "little Christian weekly," and announced as a candidate for governor in 1918. He assured his friends that, despite the ruling of the Court of Impeachment, he would hold the office if he got the votes. W.P. Hobby, who had become governor when Ferguson was removed, was a candidate for a full term in the office. Hobby, with the substantial assistance of some laws passed by a special session of the Legislature, won an easy victory in the primary and also won the election. In 1920, Ferguson organized his own party and was a candidate for President. He accomplished no more than keeping his name before the public, but it might have been good for the country if he had won since the victor was Warren G. Harding.

Developments in 1922 made it a critical year in the political life of the Fergusons. The former governor decided that it would be a waste of time to oppose Pat Neff, who was seeking a second term as governor, but that United States Senator Charles A. Culberson was vulnerable. There remained the question of Ferguson's eligibility for a place on the ballot, and as a hedge on this issue both Mr. Ferguson and Mrs. Ferguson announced for the office. Mrs. Ferguson reached this decision with reluctance as she had no desire to be a Senator and did not wish to live in Washington. It was ultimately decided that Mr. Ferguson was an eligible candidate for the United States Senate and Mrs. Ferguson withdrew from the race. Ferguson failed to win election to the Senate as he lost a bitter second primary race to Earle B. Mayfield, but the campaign was not without its value. The public had been made aware of Mrs. Ferguson as a possible candidate for office, the Ferguson name had been kept before the public, and Jim had emerged as the leading figure in opposition in the rising political strength of the Ku Klux Klan. Even a novice in politics could see that a Ferguson would seek the governor's office in 1924.

Ten years after his first campaign for the office James E. Ferguson announced as a candidate for governor in the 1924 Democratic primaries. The courts ruled that he was not eligible for a place on the ballot and Mrs. Ferguson promptly became a candidate. Her platform called for vindication and for a strong anti-mask (i.e. anti-Klan) law. She promised to make the prison

system self-sustaining, to improve highways and rural schools, to veto all liquor legislation, and to reduce state expenditures by $15,000,000. The statements concerning rural schools, the prison system, and liquor legislation were almost identical with those of the Ferguson platform of 1914. There was never any pretense that Mrs. Ferguson would be an independent governor. Both stated that Jim would assist the governor in every way possible and they and their friends freely declared that so long as Texas had a Governor Ferguson, it made no difference who signed on the dotted line. They bluntly offered "Two governors for the price of one."

In opening her campaign, Mrs. Ferguson pleaded: "Mother, father, son or brother won't you help me? Jim and I are not seeking revenge; we are asking for the name of our children to be cleared of this awful judgment. If any wrong has been done, God in Heaven knows we have suffered enough." In stating her qualifications, she said: "I know I can't talk about the constitution and the making of laws and the science of government like some other candidates, . . . but I have a trusting and abiding faith that my Redeemer liveth . . .." To some degree she upstaged W. Lee O'Daniel and his Golden Rule campaign by fourteen years.

A total of nine candidates sought the Democratic nomination for governor in 1924, and four deserve to be classed as major candidates. They are Mrs. Ferguson, Felix D. Robertson who was considered to be the candidate of the Klan, T.W. Davidson the retiring lieutenant governor, and Lynch Davidson a former lieutenant governor whose campain slogan was "Lynch is a Cinch." Both Davidsons expressed opposition to the Klan.

Both Fergusons usually appeared on the same platform. Mrs. Ferguson would be presented first and would make a few remarks about vindication and love of home. She would then release the platform to Jim and the old master would say little about the platform but a great deal about the Klan and his political enemies. In later stages of the campaign, they sometimes traveled separately with Mrs. Ferguson going chiefly to engagements where it was thought the crowds would be friendly. She became an acceptable speaker.

Most of the state newspapers supported one of the Davidsons during the first primary, but their news columns were frequently used for stories about the woman candidate. Just a few weeks after she announced, *The Dallas News* ran a feature story about Mrs. Ferguson with pictures showing her in a chicken yard, in a lot with a horse, in a kitchen peeling peaches, and in a cotton

field wearing a bonnet but not picking cotton. The bonnet, incidently, was borrowed and was worn inside out as the candidate feared it might not be clean. The use of the bonnet led, perhaps inevitably, to the use of "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet" as a campaign theme for Mrs. Ferguson and for the remainder of her life she was seldom around a band or an orchestra without hearing the tune. It took editors only a short while to condense Miriam A. into "Ma" and before the campaign was many weeks old "Me for Ma" stickers began to appear over the state. Stickers saying "No Ma for me - Too much Pa" also appeared.

Robertson led the first primary with 193,508 votes. Mrs. Ferguson was second with 164,424. Lynch Davidson received 141,208 and T.W. Davidson received 125,001. Many voters were unable to distinguish between the Davidsons and it is interesting to speculate on what the result might have been had there been only one Davidson in the list of candidates.

In the second primary the voters had a difficult choice. They were asked to choose between the wife of an impeached governor and a man looked upon as the candidate of an invisible empire some of whose members worked at night with whips, buckets of tar and sacks of feathers. The issues came to be Fergusonism and the Ku Klux Klan. Both Davidsons asked their supporters to vote for Mrs. Ferguson and large daily newspapers, which had fought Ferguson consistently since 1914, endorsed Mrs. Ferguson. The campaign was extremely bitter and Mr. Ferguson must be admired for his courage in standing on platforms all over Texas and denouncing the Klan. Mrs. Ferguson also appeared on platforms where danger may have existed but her language was much calmer than that of her husband. When the votes were counted, it was found that Mrs. Ferguson was the winner with 413,751 to 316,019 for Robertson.

Republican leaders decided the Democratic campaign had been so bitter that 1924 would be an excellent year in which to mount a major campaign for the governorship. Dr. George C. Butte resigned his position as Dean of the School of Law at the University of Texas to become the Republican nominee. Thousands of voters did bolt the Democratic fold and vote the Republican ticket but Butte lost by a vote of 294,970 to 422,558.

There can be no doubt that when the newly inaugurated governor entered her office on January 20, 1925 and found Neff's marked Bible, the Fergusons had won the second chance they had sought since 1917. It remained to be seen whether the voters had given that second chance in wisdom or in error.

Mr. Ferguson made several trips to Austin from Temple after

the election and remained in the capital as the date approached for the Legislature to convene. He acted as the governor, not as the husband of the governor. As early as January 9, 1925 an Austin newspaper was speaking of proposed appointments as "Jim's" appointments, and expressed the belief that he would have trouble gaining confirmation for some of them. Ferguson also took part in the race for Speaker of the House of Representatives. When the House convened on January 13, Lee Satterwhite of Panhandle (Carson County) was elected over three other candidates. The election of Satterwhite was looked upon by some observers as evidence that the House was declaring itself independent of both Ferguson and the Klan. Mrs. Ferguson made the trip from Temple to Austin by train several days before the inauguration and remained at the home of her daughter, Mrs. George Nalle, until after the inauguration.

According to Mrs. Nalle (Ouida Ferguson), the Fergusons left the mansion in 1917 in a Packard Twin Six with Mrs. Ferguson driving. The car was stored, but after the victory in 1924 it was cleaned, polished, given a new battery and new tires and in January driven to Austin. Mrs. Ferguson drove from the Nalle residence to the mansion in the old Packard as evidence of triumph.

As most administrations do, this one began with a controversy over appointments. When the legislature convened on January 13, Governor Neff submitted a long list of appointees to the Senate for confirmation. Mrs. Ferguson - or both Fergusons - wanted these appointments rejected so that Ferguson friends could be named to the various positions. As is customary, the Senate confirmed some of the Neff appointees and rejected some of them. There was some criticism of the attempts of James E. Ferguson to influence the Senate in the matter of confirmations. In fact, there would be criticism of James E. Ferguson throughout the administration. It was a situation which Texans had not experienced before. Mr. Ferguson was a private citizen, a licensed attorney, a shrewd and experienced politician, the chief advisor to and spokesman for the governor, and possibly governor by proxy.

The legislature was diligent and was able to pass the appropriations bill in the regular session so that no special session was immediately necessary. Expenditures were not reduced by $15,000,000 as Mrs. Ferguson had promised but the total amount appropriated increased only slightly over the previous biennium. An Amnesty Act was passed after much controversy which removed penalties assessed any person by a Court of

Impeachment in Texas. It did not name Ferguson. The act proved to be of no value as it was repealed by a later legislature and the courts also held it invalid on the ground that the legislature can not repeal a judicial decision. A stringent anti-mask law was passed but much of it also had difficulty in the courts. The few measures passed which could be described as liquor legislation were promptly vetoed. The proposed child-labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States was rejected. The legislative session was mostly routine, but the same statement can not be made of the executive branch of the government. The administration was marked by almost constant controversy involving a series of developments some of which were branded by the newspapers as major scandals.

Mr. Ferguson was the focal point of most of the storms. Mrs. Ferguson spent some time in the capitol office and undoubtedly made a number of decisions, but she also spent a great deal of time at the mansion. "Governor Jim" was practically always in the office and "citizen Jim" was also busy. The missteps involved matters extending all the way from the *Ferguson Forum* to highway contracts and pardons.

Prior to 1924, the *Forum* had carried little advertising but beginning with the campaign for the governorship in 1924 it came to be looked upon as a valuable advertising medium. Victory editions with dozens of pages of advertising were published on December 18, 1924 and January 2, 1925. While Mrs. Ferguson was in office, some advertisements for the *Forum* were solicited on executive office stationery. There is also evidence that during this period the *Forum* had no standard rates for advertising, and that persons or corporations wishing favorable attention could pay as much as they liked. Some people also found fault with an agreement by which Mr. Ferguson agreed to represent W.T. Eldridge, a man with extensive railroad interests and a long-standing quarrel with the Prison Commission, before the legislature and government agencies during 1925 for a fee of $10,000.

Another source of controversy involved textbook contracts. Mr. Ferguson was elected clerk of the Textbook Commission and met with it. One of the contracts which attracted much attention was with the American Book Company and called for the sale of thousands of copies of a speller to Texas at a price five cents per copy higher than the retail price of a single copy in Cincinnati, Ohio. This was one of the contracts which led to the statement that textbooks in Texas were selected by the Supreme Court.

The Highway Commission got far more attention than the

Textbook Commission. The Highway Commission during most of the Ferguson administration was made up of Frank Lanham, Joe Burkett and John H. Bickett. Most of the contracts were awarded by Lanham and Burkett, as Bickett was ill and seldom attended meetings. Private Citizen Ferguson found time to meet with the Commission and assist in awarding contracts, at least some of which were awarded by negotiation without advertising and without bidding. The two most spectacular contracts were those awarded the American Road Company and the Hoffman Construction Company.

Attorney General Dan Moody brought suit in the 53rd District Court in Austin for the cancellation of the contracts and recovery of excess payments. Exhibits presented to the court showed that the American Road Company had received $1,719,480 for work actually done by other companies for $603,768. By an agreement approved by the court November 20, 1926, the remaining contracts with the company and its permit to do business in Texas were cancelled and the state recovered $600,000. In a similar agreement the Hoffman Construction Company contracts and permit to do business were cancelled and the state recovered $450,000.

The contract for the unbelievable experimental road from Belton to Temple was awarded by this commission. The contract called for the construction of two tracks for northbound traffic and two tracks for southbound traffic with unpaved areas between. The contractor was to be paid his cost plus ten per cent.

The legislature met in special session in September 1926 to validate the bonds of hundreds of road districts. The session was made necessary by a court decision which questioned the legality of the bonds. During this session, the House of Representatives, with the permission of the governor, appointed a committee to investigate state departments. This committee reported to the House of Representatives in January, 1927, and most of the information presented here concerning scandals is taken from the committee report. The committee also pointed out that some contractors had had the wisdom to buy their performance bonds from a relative of the governor who was in the insurance business. In the opinion of the committee the power and prestige of the governor's office were "usurped and dictated by a private citizen, the husband of the governor, for political favoritism and private gain."

A great deal of criticism of the Ferguson administration was directed at the pardon policy. During the campaign Mrs. Ferguson had said that she would follow a liberal pardon policy,

but few people gave "liberal" a sufficiently broad interpretation. During her two years in office, she issued more than 3,000 clemency proclamations and some critics spoke of her use of the power to pardon as the "Texas Open Door Policy." It is not surprising that rumors quickly began circulating implying that pardons were being sold. After more than fifty years these rumors remain rumors. It would be most unusual for a person who bought a pardon to admit it, and certainly no one associated with the administration ever conceded that pardons were sold. It can be added that a person seeking a pardon needed an attorney and that it was good judgment to choose an attorney who was in good standing with the governor. The Fergusons always insisted that most pardons were issued to liquor law violators and this is correct. However, pardons were also issued to persons convicted of murder, theft, arson, rape and other major crimes. A Secretary of State declared that during her last month in office Mrs. Ferguson granted pardons to 417 convicts and that 133 murderers were included in the group.

The newspapers published many stories about pardons but seldom had much to say about the persons pardoned. Occasionally the individuals receiving the pardons were considered worthy of front-page coverage. This was true of the pardons granted to Frank Collier on December 27, 1926, and Dorothy Collier on November 20, 1926. This was due to the fact that Frank Collier had been mayor of Wichita Falls at the time he shot and killed his seventeen year old son-in-law on February 14, 1925, evidently with a great deal of encouragement from his wife, Dorothy Collier.

Mr. Collier was convicted, given a short sentence and entered prison. Mrs. Collier was convicted after a trial conducted in Haskell and given a ten year sentence. She received a pardon within a few days of the review of her case by the Court of Criminal Appeals and never entered the prison. The pardon proclamation for Frank Collier, who had served about one year, states that he is not a criminal and should be released "so he may start all over again." The pardon proclamation for Dorothy Collier declares that she is not guilty and should never have been convicted. There were statements that $10,000 was paid for these pardons but the statements were not made by either a Collier or a Ferguson.

Mrs. Ferguson had said during the campaign in 1924 that she would serve only one term, but in 1926, with her administration under attack from many sides, she announced for a second term. She probably felt that the family name was in need of more

vindication. During this campaign she defended her administration, declared that her goal of vindication had not been achieved as the Amnesty Act mentioned no name, claimed to have reduced appropriations by $10,000,000 and made the prison system self-sustaining, insisted that her pardon policy did not merit criticism, and said that the Highway Department had made a good record. In discussing the pardon policy, she said that it was actuated only by mercy and forgiveness and that the number pardoned had nothing to do with the kind of policy.

Five persons, including two women, challenged Mrs. Ferguson in the 1926 Democratic primary. Lynch Davidson and Attorney General Dan Moody were the only widely-known challengers and the primary quickly developed into a Ferguson-Moody contest. During the campaign, Mrs. Ferguson challenged Moody to agree that if she led him by 25,000 votes in the primary, he would withdraw from the race on condition that she would withdraw from the race and resign as governor if he led her by as much as one vote. Moody accepted the challenge. Moody received 409,732 of the 821,234 votes cast in the primary. Mrs. Ferguson received 283,482 and announced that she would not be a candidate in the second primary and that she would resign within a few weeks. She quickly changed her mind, however, ran in the second primary and completed her term. Moody won an easy victory in the second primary.

Mrs. Ferguson introduced Moody at his inauguration in January, 1927 and left him a Bible marked at the seventh chapter of Matthew, verse 12. The Fergusons had intended returning to Temple after the completion of her term in office, but decided to remain in Austin. After a few months in the Driskill Hotel, they moved to a rented house where they lived until their new home on Windsor Road was completed. Mrs. Ferguson lived quietly but Mr. Ferguson exerted all of his influence in opposition to Moody's legislative program. Moody was a popular governor and in 1928, for the first time since entering politics in 1914, the Fergusons sought no office. Moody had only three opponents in the 1928 Democratic primary and won an easy victory. The Fergusons supported Louis J. Wardlaw.

The Great Depression was blighting the country as time approached for the Democratic primaries in 1930, and eleven candidates sought the nomination for governor. One of them was Miriam A. Ferguson. She and her husband believed a period of economic stress a good time for a name which had always enjoyed the support of workers, tenants and small farmers. Other well known candidates were Ross S. Sterling, chairman of the

Highway Commission; Clint Small, a state senator noted for his advocacy of certain land policies; Earle B. Mayfield, former United States Senator; Barry Miller, the retiring lieutenant governor; and Thomas B. Love, one of the leaders in the Democrats for Hoover movement in 1928.

When the ballots were counted, it was learned that Mrs. Ferguson was in first place and Sterling second. The second primary campaign was so intense that more votes were cast in the second primary than in the first. Had it not been for Sterling's friends this might have been one of the great mismatches of all time. Mrs. Ferguson had developed into an acceptable campaign speaker and Mr. Ferguson was one of the great campaigners in Texas history. Sterling may not have been the poorest speaker Texans had known but he was close. Moody and Senator Walter Woodward were the chief speakers for Sterling, while C.C. McDonald, B.Y. Cummings and others assisted the Fergusons. The campaign was largely a matter of personalities with some people pointing to it as a contest between a successful business man and a perennial politician. Sterling received 473,371 of the 857,773 votes cast in the primary.

The Sterling administration was not bad but the governor found it difficult to accomplish much because of the economic condition which grew constantly worse. He and many other office holders found in 1932 that being in office was a major handicap. Nine candidates sought the Democratic nomination for governor in 1932 and Mrs. Ferguson led the first primary with 402,238 votes. Sterling was second with 296,383. The second primary contest was as bitter and hard fought as any Texan has known. The Fergusons, being out of office, could promise more than Sterling, the office holder, who was limited by some ties with reality. In addition, a vote for the Fergusons was a vote for change and in 1932 most people in both Texas and the United States were anxious for a change. Mrs. Ferguson defeated Sterling in the second primary by a vote of 477,644 to 473,846.

When Mrs. Ferguson stood before Chief Justice C.M. Cureton on January 17, 1933 and took the oath of office as Governor of Texas, it marked the fourth time that a Ferguson had done so. The inaugural ceremony was conducted in the House Chamber and was the first indoor inauguration since 1925. Her address was brief. It pointed out that the state faced many problems and that cooperation between executive and legislative branches was essential. It was similar in many ways to the address Mr. Ferguson had delivered in 1915. She even quoted the same two lines of doggerel:

If you love me as I love you
Nothing can cut our love in two.

Governor Sterling did not attend the inauguration and left no marked Bible in the office.

Those Texans who expected Mrs. Ferguson's second administration to be a copy of the first were pleasantly disappointed. She granted a large number of pardons but there were no highway scandals and no textbook scandals. The administration was marked by an absence of controversy as governor and legislature did what they could to fight the Depression. Measures were passed which declared a moratorium on real estate foreclosures and remitted penalties and interest on delinquent taxes. A constitutional amendment was submitted which exempted $3,000 of the value of a homestead from ad valorem taxes. Constitutional amendments were submitted, and approved on August 26, 1933, authorizing the issuance of $20,000,000 in bonds with the money to be used to aid victims of the Depression and permitting the sale of wine and beer of not more than 3.2% alcoholic content on a local option basis. The bonds for relief were named Bread Bonds and Mrs. Ferguson proclaimed the date of the election as "Bread and Hunger Day." The legislature attempted to reduce state expenditures and the salaries of most state employees were reduced 25%. Tax laws were revised so that the state could benefit more from the production of oil and gas. The East Texas field had been discovered in October, 1930, and helped Texas remain a white spot on the economic condition maps throughout the Depression. An act was passed limiting the time women might work to 9 hours per day and 54 hours per week but with numerous exceptions. It was during this administration that the prison system began the manufacture of license plates and highway signs. One measure of some interest created a committee of two senators and three representatives to designate poets laureate for Texas at appropriate intervals. Most of the poets honored have been named for two years but some appointments have been for only one year. The literary abilities of the selection committee were made clear when the person named was a senator whose best known poem was "That Spotted Sow."

The legislature in 1933 also ratified the XXI Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This amendment repealed the XVIII Amendment which had provided for national prohibition. This step and the approval of the sale of wine and beer in Texas were presented as measures to fight the Depression. The same argument was given for the act which made betting on

horse races legal. A measure creating agencies to plan a Texas Centennial was dictated by time as 1936 was only three years away.

The nation, including Texas, faced a major financial crisis in the early days of March, 1933. Banks in great numbers were failing and it was believed that fears developing in other states might result in runs on Texas banks and cause them to fail. It was hoped, and generally believed, that some drastic step would be taken by the national government immediately following the inauguration of Roosevelt on March 4. Texas banks were closed on March 2 for Independence Day and a number of bankers converged on Austin to seek a solution to the problem. They met during the day with the attorney general, the banking commissioner, other officials and Mr. Ferguson. It was finally decided that the governor should proclaim a banking holiday extending through March 6, Alamo Day. Since March 6 was Monday, it was thought best to extend the holiday through Tuesday, March 7 in order that Texas banks might benefit from any orders or proclamations issued by Federal authorities on Monday.

The proclamation was drawn up in customary form proclaiming the banking holiday extending from March 2 through March 7 and Mrs. Ferguson was called to come to the office and sign it. Before the document was signed Mr. Ferguson saw fit to change the usual language of "By virtue of authority vested in me" to a more nearly accurate "By virtue of authority by me assumed." The proclamation is #13406. Proclamation #13405 grants a convict named Elmer Dillingham a ten day furlough and #13407 grants a convict named W.C. Schultz, Jr. a ninety day furlough. The period of closing was extended a few more days by Federal proclamations.

Mrs. Ferguson was not a candidate in 1934. She attended the inauguration of Allred in January, 1935 but was given no recognition. She evened the score to some extent by leaving a Bible marked to remind the new governor that "the proud shall stumble and fall."

It was generally believed that the Fergusons had made their last campaign and that from 1935 on they would view politics from the sidelines, assisting their friends when possible and criticizing their enemies when the opportunity offered. Certainly most people, including some relatives, were greatly surprised when she announced as a candidate for governor against W. Lee O'Daniel in 1940. The campaign can be explained only by saying that Mr. Ferguson had always been enthusiastic about politics and that she

had come to love it. Her statement, made years later, was that Texas deserved better than O'Daniel. Mrs. Ferguson made a number of radio talks and Mr. Ferguson made a few speeches but they made no serious effort to win. There were eight candidates for the Democratic nomination in 1940 and O'Daniel, as he had done in 1938, gained a majority in the first primary. Mrs. Ferguson was fourth in the race and received 100,578 votes.

Mr. Ferguson died in 1944 following a long illness and was buried in the State Cemetery. By that date, time had erased many of the memories of bitter campaigns and animosities had generally been forgotten. Newspapers and politicians paid him generous tribute. Mrs. Ferguson had a number of years to live and settled easily into the role of elder stateswoman. She endorsed candidates on occasion and was interviewed by the press from time to time.

In several interviews with the author in May, 1953, she talked freely of politics and politicians and of her great love for the game after she became involved in 1924. She declined to answer a question as to which governor she had known ranked as best because she did not wish to apply the term "best" to any of them. She rated Hobby and Sterling as the poorest governors she had known; Allred and Stevenson were ranked as "nothings," and Moody she considered "a nice man but too narrow between the eyes." She did not rank Pat Neff but thought him "a real gentleman." O'Daniel was described as a monkey who should never have been governor. She described Jim as the best speaker she ever heard.

Mrs. Ferguson was eighty on June 13, 1955, and about 300 persons attended a dinner in her honor sponsored by the Austin Jaycees. Governor Allan Shivers served as Master of Ceremonies and, probably for the last time, Mrs. Ferguson was escorted to the speaker's table to the strains of "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet." Among those in attendance were former governor James V. Allred and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mrs. Ferguson died June 25, 1961 and was buried in the State Cemetery beside her husband. There is one headstone for the two graves and on Mrs. Ferguson's side there is carved "Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path."

STAGECOACH ROADS TO MARSHALL

by Max S. Lale

"We passed the broad lane, cut through the tall timber, which showed the boundary line between the United States and the young Republic, and after swimming some streams and traversing divers canebrakes, we reached the house of my friend in safety." Thus the Rev. James Gallaher, a travelling minister of the Presbyterian Church, described the start of a missionary incursion from Shreveport, Louisiana, into the Republic of Texas on horseback in 1845.[1]

In recording his experiences, the Rev. Mr. Gallaher also left a record of the difficulties of travel in the early days of Harrison County's settlement, illuminating thereby the importance which the early settlers placed upon reliable communications. This was especially true of access to the older, more established areas of the United States from which they had migrated. Westward there was little about which to be concerned.

The travelling clergyman described the Marshall toward which he directed his mount as an unprepossessing village of "small log houses covered with clap boards" and with bushes "growing all over the public square and along the streets." Settled some years earlier as the third seat of Harrison County government, Marshall had been incorporated as a municipality by the Ninth Congress only a few months earlier, on December 31, 1844. The town limits were declared by the incorporating statute to "extend one-half mile in a square, so laid off as to leave the public square in the center of said corporation."

The importance of Shreveport and the adjacent states of Louisiana and Arkansas to Marshall's development had been noted even earlier by Charles DeMorse, editor of the Clarksville *Northern Standard*, in a letter from Marshall which appeared in his newspaper on September 24, 1842. Stopping "to have some repairs made on my buggy," DeMorse found the population of Harrison County "is now about 500, and a considerable part of the increase has been composed of people with property — planters with negroes. Shreveport is a convenient medium for landing in this section of county . . .."[2]

After the Congress of the Republic of Texas created Harrison County from a portion of Shelby County on January 8, 1839, an already prospering community which enjoyed river communication with Shreveport assumed new significance to the county's increasing population. This was Port Caddo, twenty

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Max Lale lives in Marshall, Texas.

miles northeast of Marshall on Big Cypress Bayou, which in the years between 1839 and 1845 became an important mail terminus and a trans-shipment point for cotton, hides and other agricultural products.[3] Steamboats operating from Red River by way of Caddo Lake and Big Cypress had begun "to edge over the East Texas border"[4] several years earlier, and by the middle 1840s were reaching Jefferson intermittently. This traffic prompted the Congress to establish a customs office at Port Caddo on January 29, 1845, and to name L.H. Mabitt as collector.[5]

This river connection between Harrison County and Shreveport, unsatisfactory as it was because of fluctuating and unpredictable water levels, was of material benefit to planters with goods to ship and receive. However, it left something to be desired by individuals travelling between Marshall and Shreveport. The answer, obviously, was an improved road connecting the two towns and the establishment of a system of public transportation. At this period on the frontier, this could only mean stagecoaches.

While the imperatives of growth and development weighed heavily on the early settlers, dictating their concern for adequate communications with Shreveport (their nearest contact with the United States), they kept another eye turned constantly toward the distant capitol in Austin. Here was the government, as contrasted with the markets to the east, on which their future also depended. Here were the levers of power which could bring good things to a planter aristocracy. Texas newspapers, which devoted columns in each issue to reports of political activity in Austin, were likewise vital to the aspirations of the local citizenry — if only they could receive them on a regular basis.

The reach of Marshall politicians for the Austin levers did not exceed their grasp. By 1865, two Marshall residents, Edward Clark and Pendleton Murrah, served as governors of the state. Another, Louis T. Wigfall, became both a United States and a Confederate senator. A former governor, J.P. Henderson, chose Marshall for his home after leaving Austin and was elected United States senator while living in the city. Asa Willie became an associate justice of the Texas Supreme Court, and L.D. Evans was elected a member of the U.S. House of Representatives while living in the city. And all occurred only two decades after Marshall was incorporated.[6]

Still, though no less concerned with affairs in Austin than their fellows in Marshall, planters in the eastern section of Harrison County never lost sight of the fact that their livelihood and prosperity depended on the market for their cotton in New

Orleans, and thus access to it by river boat. Nor did an early newspaperman confuse the economics and the politics of the problem. *The Texas Republican* for June 8, 1849, reported

> From the exertions being made in this neighboring counties, we have strong hopes that Soda [Caddo] Lake will be, by the commencement of the next season, freed from every obstruction that at present intercepts the navigation . . . Once thoroughly cleaned out, the boats may navigate the lake whenever they can go to Shreveport. The subscriptions for this purpose have already been very liberal. We shall publish next week the names of the subscribers and the amounts subscribed.[7]

True to his word, R.W. Loughery reported in the *Republican's* next issue that "Mr. William Perry, of Jefferson, proposes to remove the obstructions to the navigation of the lake" for a contract price of $3,500. The editor noted that "the sum of $2,000 is now about made out by subscribers and others who have promised to lend their assistance." J.B. Webster[8] pledged 50¢ per bale of cotton from the 1849 crop, and other subscriptions ranged from $300 down to $20. Loughery calculated that four feet of water would be added to the lake level by clearing it of obstructions to navigation. "The saving to the farmers by the operation," he wrote, "would, at least, be fifty cents per each bale of cotton exported, and an equivalent on importations." He calculated that the saving would amount to $11,250 per year in Harrison County.[9]

As county leaders thus exerted themselves in behalf of water transportation, they also moved to secure speedy and reliable land transportation, not only with Shreveport but also with Austin and the towns in between. Loughery was energetic in these latter efforts, and he continued to campaign for expanded service in later years, particularly in connection with a Marshall-to-Austin tie in 1852. It seems likely from the available evidence that the first stagecoach from Shreveport arrived in Marshall in the summer or early fall of 1850. A paragraph reprinted in the "Yesteryear" column of the *Marshall News Messenger* for October 3, 1958, and attributed to an original publication in 1850 conveyed this information:

> We have *now* [emphasis added] a line of stages from this place to Shreveport, which leaves every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday and returns Monday, Thursday and Saturday evenings. The stage office is at "Uncle Joe's" Hotel. The stage goes through in one day. In connection with this subject we would call attention to the road. Winter is approaching and it is necessary that work should

be done on it in season, otherwise at the time we most need a stage, it cannot travel on this route.[10]

Population figures for Marshall and Harrison County in the federal census of 1850 support a conclusion that stagecoach service must have been initiated by that year, though documentation of the first Shreveport-to-Marshall stagecoach link has not yet been discovered. Harrison County was credited with a population of 11,822, making it the most populous county in the state.[11] Marshall was shown to have a population of 1,189, making it the seventh largest municipality in the state, while Austin was credited with no more than 629 residents, and Dallas with 430. Marshall's bar already was one of the most respected in the state, and its newspaper was more widely quoted with each succeeding issue. These hardly are characteristics of a community isolated — except for river boats, single mounts and individually owned teams — from its nearest large neighbor.

The stagecoach route from Marshall to Shreveport about which Loughery exercised his editorial prerogatives was less than direct. It left Marshall heading northeast, crossing the present Marshall-Jefferson highway at or near the present intersection of that highway (U.S. 59) and the Harris Lake Road, an eastward extension of Poplar Street. From that point it continued northeast, generally paralleling present Texas Highway 43 (to Karnack) to an intersection nine miles away with a similar road coming into it from Woodlawn, located roughly midway between Marshall and Jefferson. Three miles farther on, the merged routes intersected the Jefferson-Jonesville-Waskom's Station Road, at which point the road turned southeast to the state line, just east of the present Harrison County municipality of Waskom.[12]

A 2.7-mile section of this road near its intersection with U.S. 59 survives almost unchanged since the last coach traversed it. Worn and rutted by the iron rims of countless stagecoach wheels and the shod hooves of the horses which supplied the motive power, the road surface in many places is as much as 12 feet below the surrounding countryside. Hardly wide enough for one automobile, the roadway in these places is canopied by adjacent trees which have arched over it from both sides, so that portions of the road are bathed in the half-light of a forest floor. At other places, particularly in the bottoms, the forces of erosion have worked in the road's favor, keeping its surface near the adjacent land level. On the abrupt hills, the soil is a dull red from its iron ore content. In the bottoms it runs more to a tawny sand.

Small spring-fed streams cross the road at several points. Even during severe drought, many of these springs still produce a

trickle of cool, clear water. These streams, when augmented by heavy rainfall, make the road impassable to modern day automobiles. In all likelihood they presented similar difficulties even to the high-bodied stagecoaches which operated on it before a railroad link with Shreveport outmoded this form of transportation.

This old road has become a favorite subject for artists and photographers in recent years. The historic scenes art competition held each year in connection with Marshall's "Stagecoach Days" festival usually attracts one or more entries from out-of-county artists who find the road an irresistable attraction.[13]

The Marshall editor's complaint about the condition of the road soon after the first stage line began operating was echoed east of the Texas-Louisiana state line. With obvious satisfaction, the editor reported plans for a plank road to be constructed from Shreveport westward to the Texas line "on the route leading to this place."[14] The plan called for a plank road not less than 16 feet wide, "which will afford ample room for the passage of wagons; the entire width of the chartered road to be 50 feet . . .." Capitalization would not exceed $100,000, divided into 2,000 shares at $50 each. Continuing, the newspaper reported that

> The number of gates and the rates of toll [are] to be determined upon by the company, but are not to exceed: For a footman, one cent per mile; man and horse, three cents per mile; horses, mules and cattle, per wheel, three cents a mile; hogs and sheep, per head, two cents per mile; wheel vehicles, per wheel, three cents a mile; and an additional three cents for every thousand pounds over five thousand; provided no tolls shall be exacted from any one going to or returning from militia duty; or elections, or to or from court as a juror; or from any one traveling on the business of the state or General Government.[15]

Despite such plans to improve the roads on which the convenience and prosperity of the settlers depended, compaints continued. A Marshall editor was moved to appeal for a change in the road law:

> We understand that the roads leading from Marshall to Shreveport and Henderson and Jefferson need working on. The Shreveport stage driver says that the road from Marshall to the Louisiana line is in a very bad situation. We need an amendment to our road law. It is very defective. We can never expect to have good roads until there is more responsibility created than at present exists. As it is now, it is almost impossible to enforce the requisitions of the road

law. We hope there will be an amendment to the law this session of the Legislature.[16]

Movement of passengers, baggage and freight was not the only concern of Marshall and other Harrison County citizens, however. Mail was perhaps equally as important, as evidenced by an editor's comment in a Marshall newspaper:

> All of our readers are interested in learning the fate of the petitions sent on to Washington some time ago, asking for a stage route from this place to Austin. A simple glance at the map will suffice to show that such mail facilities are greatly required. The petition sent on met the prompt attention of Senator Rusk. The following letter from that gentleman was addressed to a friend in this place who has handed it to us for publication: Washington, March 22, 1852 — Dear Sir: I received from you a few days since, a petition signed by a large number of your citizens asking for a stage route from Marshall to Nacogdoches, which, together with one of like importance from the citizens of Rusk County, and one from the members of the Legislature, I handed to the Post Master General, with the request that it be complied with. He has ordered an increase of the pay upon the route, of fifty per cent, with authority to the contractor to employ a led horse or a coach at his option. Very respectfully yours, THOS. J. RUSK.[17]

Some months later the editor was pleased to give a progress report on Senator Rusk's efforts:

> We understand that a new mail route has been established from Austin via Belton, Waco village, Springfield, Fairfield, Palestine, Rusk, Henderson and Marshall to Shreveport. This route, which was numerously petitioned for last spring, we are glad to learn has been established. We are unable to say whether the contract will be to carry the mail in coaches, as petitioned for, or on horseback. At all events, it is a route that was very much needed and we are gratified that through the attention of Gen. Rusk the wishes of the people on the line have been regarded.[18]

Step by step, by urgings and exertions—and no doubt in response to a growing market demand — Marshall's connections by stage line with other population centers continued to increase. The Marshall House advertised in 1852 that "Perry's well known livery stable is connected with this house. This stable is still under the charge of M.C. Hynson . . . The Henderson line of stages start from this house three times a week. J.W. Simms."[19] By 1856, William Bradfield was advertising that his four-horse "post coaches" henceforth would operate daily between Shreveport, Marshall and Jefferson.[20] The *Henderson Democrat* for

November 29, 1856, noted that "Stages leave Marshall and Nacogdoches, tri-weekly, and go through in forty-six hours by way of Henderson."[21]

Arrival of the stage in Marshall always was an event, especially in the early days of service. It is recalled that the driver would blow a bugle when within half a mile, whereupon business ceased and residents rushed to the spot where passengers debarked and mail was off-loaded. In the early 1850s, the stage office for the Shreveport-Marshall line was operated in the Planter's Hotel, Joseph M. Taylor proprietor, located on the northeast corner of the courthouse square. Upon completion of The Adkins House across the street south, the office was moved to the newer, larger and more luxurious facility. While passengers entertained themselves at the hotel, which had a reputation as the finest west of New Orleans,[22] the coach was driven around the block to the livery stable at the corner of East Houston and South Lafayette, where hostlers exchanged teams. For some time there was only one structure on the west side of the square, a double log house in which a Mr. Miller kept a tavern. It is said that when the stage arrived in town, Mr. Miller would come out of his saloon with a large bell, as heavy as he could lift, and with great pride ring the bell between his legs to toll arriving passengers to his establishment.

William Bradfield, along with his son John, appears to have been the most successful stage operator of his time, serving the public of Marshall and Shreveport and of a wide area westward and southwestward. Bradfield's name is the one which appears most frequently in the literature on the subject. As early as 1854, a Marshall newspaper noted that

> It will be seen by reference to a card in our advertising columns that Messrs. Bradfield, Compton & Co., have established a line of stages and hacks from Shreveport, by way of Marshall, to Austin, our state capital. A portion of the road is now only supplied with hacks, but we understand from Mr. Bradfield, that the company has a lot of four horse coaches in New Orleans, ready for shipment as soon as the water will permit. This is the most important Stage route in the State, and one which has long been needed. From being the shortest route, it is destined to get a great deal of travel. When in full operation with four horse Coaches and the necessary relay of horses, it is calculated the trip can be made to Austin in four days.[24]

An advertisement for the Commercial Hotel in Shreveport published in *The South-Western* of that city on June 6, 1855, noted that "The public is hereby notified that the new and spacious brick Hotel, on Milam Street, in this place has been

leased by the above named proprietor [C.S. Mellett] and is now ready for the reception of boarders and transient persons . . . Seats in the Texas line of Stages [Bradfield's] for Marshall, Jefferson, Henderson, Tyler, etc., can be secured at all times at the Commercial Hotel." Bradfield, who owned a plantation in the eastern part of Harrison County, continued to operate his stages between Marshall and Shreveport throughout the period of the Civil War, as will be seen later, and was an individual still remembered in 1889 for his place in the transportation picture many years earlier. A Marshall newspaper noted in that year that "John Bradfield, who helped his father run the stage line here during and right after the war, is here selling hay from his farm near Dallas."[25]

A major development in Marshall's growth as a transportation center came in 1858 when the Butterfield Overland Express extended its service from Marshall to San Diego, California. John Butterfield was a stagecoach driver in Albany, New York, in the early 1800s. Within 25 years he had risen to the ownership of a large network of stage lines and was active in the development of telegraph lines and railroads. He merged his company with American Express in 1850 but returned to his early love for the stagecoach when he organized the Butterfield Overland Express in 1857. Although this company operated only until 1861, travelling the "southern route" to the West, it left an indelible mark on history with the route's identification as the Butterfield Trail. With the route extended westward from Marshall, it was possible for Harrison County residents and others reaching Marshall from the eastern states on William Bradfield's Marshall-Shreveport stage to cross the continent to the Pacific Ocean.[26] It must have been a heady sensation for a community which only two years later would rank as the fourth largest municipality in Texas.

Editor Loughery's concern for stagecoaches as his access to much of the news was lessened to a degree in 1854, though this facet of communications did not reduce the requirements of his readers for public transportation. In that year Marshall became the first city in Texas to be served by "magnetic telegraph." Texas Telegraph Company was chartered on January 5, 1854, and by February 14 had brought its line from Shreveport to Marshall. Using trees and poles as support, the wire was completed to Marshall and an office opened in the city on St. Valentine's Day, much to the gratification of Mr. Loughery:

> The Magnetic Telegraph is at length in operation between Marshall and New Orleans. We are no longer cut off from the balance of the world by low water and slow mails. Who

> will now wait a week for intelligence from New Orleans, when by taking a Marshall paper they can get intelligence from the city of the day previous? Throughout the day the office was thronged with visitors. In the course of two hours twenty dollars had been received.[27]

The editor's satisfaction was not unmitigated, however. Service was frequently interrupted. Wind whipped the trees and broke the attached wires. Wagoners pulled up the poles and used them for pries or firewood. Vandals did further damage.[28] Finally, the company collapsed in December 1855, and it was not until 1859 that E.B. Cushing of the Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register* secured the interest and financial backing of a group of Houston newspaper and railroad men to resurrect the defunct company and restore service over a portion of the system.[29]

In spite of poor roads and other impediments, by 1860 Harrison County was served by a number of lines in addition to the original Marshall-Shreveport connnection, operating over as many as eight stagecoach roads radiating from the city like spokes from the hub of a wheel.[30]Service had multiplied, but not the comfort of the passengers. Stages still lurched, shuddered over potholes, and jolted their passengers in other diabolical ways. They were hot in summer, cold in winter. Their schedules were more a matter of promise than performance, and such schedules as were maintained often required night travel, making for poor sleeping. And they were expensive.

In view of discomfort, schedule uncertainties and the ticket tariff, it is surprising that the lines carried as many passengers as they did. Presumably typical, the Forest Mail Stage Line advertised in 1859 the following price schedule: from Marshall to Jefferson, $2; to Daingerfield, $5; to Mt. Pleasant, $7; and to Clarksville, $12. The advertisement continued:

> The above lines will run in connection with the Shreveport stage and railroad and Henderson and Tyler stages and in connection with the Clarksville and Western stages. The stages depart from Marshall every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 4 o'clock a.m., arriving in Jefferson in time to take the Shreveport stages. No seat will be considered secure until paid for. All bundles, packages, and parcels, must be pre-paid, or they will not be taken; fifty pounds of baggage allowed each passenger. One hundred and fifty pounds extra baggage will be charged the same as one passenger, and a lesser or greater quantity charge in the same proportions. R.W. Nesmith, Proprietor.[31]

By 1861, the Forest Line found it necessary to increase its charges: "Owing to the unprecedented scarcity of forage through

this section of country, and the high prices therefrom the proprietors of this line deem it absolutely essential to protect their own as well as the interest of the Government, in the Post Office Department, to raise the price of fares on this line." The charge to Jefferson was increased to $2.50; to Daingerfield, $6.50; to Mt. Pleasant, $8.50; and to Clarksville, $14.50. The announcement noted that the line "connects with Bradfield's stage at Jonesville, by the Southern Pacific Railroad,[32] and thence can be put from Clarksville, Texas, to Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, in four days and a half, and will receive all attention to their wants and comfort."[33]

The Civil War placed new strains on the system of stage lines serving Marshall. At a time when movement between Austin and points in the eastern theaters was increasingly essential, stage lines were subjected to problems of reduced manpower, competition for horses and forage, and other dislocations associated with a wartime economy. Nevertheless, stages continued to operate in spite of all difficulties, as evidenced by a number of contemporary accounts.

James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, a Coldstream Guards officer who visited both the Confederate and Union armies while on an extended leave from his regiment in England, left an account of his busman's holiday including his experience with Texas stagecoaches while travelling from Mexico through Marshall to the eastern battlefields. On May 6, 1863, Lt. Col. Fremantle left Crockett in the company of a Louisiana judge, a government agent and an ex-boatswain off the *Harriett Lane*. He wrote that

> We arrived at Rusk at 6:30 P.M., and spent a few hours there; but notwithstanding the boasted splendor of the beds at the Cherokee Hotel, and although by Major 's influence I got one to myself, yet I did not consider its aspect sufficiently inviting to induce me to remove my clothes.

Fremantle started from Rusk at 1:30 A.M., May 7, in a smaller coach carrying himself, the Louisiana judge, a Mississippi planter, the ex-boatswain, the government agent, and a Captain Williams of the Texas Rangers. The Coldstream Guards officer recorded that

> All the villages through which we passed were deserted except for women and very old men. Their aspect was most melancholy. The country is sandy, and the land not fertile, but the timber is fine. We met several planters on the road, who with their families and Negroes were taking refuge in Texas, after having abandoned their plantations in

> Louisiana on the approach of Banks. One of them had as many as sixty slaves with him of all ages and sizes.

At 7:00 P.M. the passengers were joined by "three huge, long-legged, unwashed, odoriferous Texan soldiers, and we passed a wretched night in consequence."

The stage crossed the Sabine River at 11:30 P.M. and reached Marshall at 3:00 A.M. Friday, May 8, 1863. Fremantle recorded that "we got four hours' sleep there" — undoubtedly at The Adkins House — before "We . . . got into a railroad for sixteen miles, after which we were crammed into another stage. Crossed the frontier into Louisiana at 11:00 A.M. I have therefore been nearly a month getting through the single state of Texas. Reached Shreveport at 3 P.M., and, after washing for the first time in five days, I called on General Kirby Smith, who commands the whole country on this side of the Mississippi."[34]

There appears little question that Fremantle spent his few recuperative hours in Marshall at The Adkins House, inasmuch as its owner, George Adkins, had unsuccessfully attempted to close its doors several times earlier, and the hostelry is known to have operated throughout the war. Adkins was one of the earliest Harrison County settlers, had served as its first judge, and was the builder of a number of its early buildings. Of his difficulties in the first years of the war, a Marshall editor recorded that

> Owing to the dullness of the times, Judge Adkins, of this place, has endeavored several times to close his hotel, the Adkins House, and every time the attempt has been made the result has proved a failure. Wednesday he was not be be foiled, so he posted a sign up, with glowing letters, "Hotel Closed." The doors of the building were shut, and the house looked almost deserted. But it was no go. The Henderson stage brought a host of passengers, all clever, nice people, and among them several ladies. Of course, the judge said he was bound to open his house to the ladies. We would advise him to keep it open. If he does not, strangers may possibly think the town dull.[35]

Perhaps the most notable record of stagecoach operations through Marshall was left by W.W. Heartsill, who kept a journal of his war service beginning April 19, 1861, and ending with a final entry dated May 20, 1865. His service ranged from the western frontier to Tennessee and included a period in a Union prison at Camp Butler, near Springfield, Illinois. Because of this wide area of service, which also included time as a guard at Camp Ford, the Confederate war prisoner installation at Tyler, Heartsill was in and out of Marshall more often than otherwise would have been

normal. *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army,* the printed version of the journal (for which Heartsill set the type and did the press work after the war), contains frequent references to stagecoaches and to William Bradfield, a personal friend. A random selection includes these entries:

> August 30, 1862: Lieut. Ragsdale requested me to go to Monroe, La., to see into the condition of the Captain [Samuel Richardson]. I ride over to Jonesville and there take the stage, at 4 o'clock I arrive at Shreveport, in an hour I am on the Monroe stage, and at one o'clock A.M. we meet the Shreveport stage near Minden, I find Capt. R. is aboard, so I change coaches and reach Shreveport at 9 o'clock.
>
> December 21, 1863: After an early, and a good breakfast, one of Maj. Bradfield's fine coaches rolls up, engineered by that prince of drivers, Joe White. Elgin and I get aboard, and AT THREE O'CLOCK, DEC. 21st, 1863, we roll into the "City of Sand" (Marshall).
>
> April 14, 1864: [Camp Ford] By the stage we have additional information concerning our losses in the Mansfield and Pleasant Hill battles of the 8th and 9th Inst. . .
>
> May 5, 1864: [Camp Ford] The stage comes in overloaded with news, and as a specimen of what RELIABLE persons are bringing over, I will give a few samples of the latest to day: No. 1, Lee and Grant has had a fight, and Lee has taken from eight to fifteen thousand prisoners . . .[36]

With the completion by the Southern Pacific of the rail link between Shreveport and Marshall after the Civil War,[37] the stagecoach road between the two cities ceased to serve its primary function. Stagecoaches continued to operate out of Marshall for a number of years, however. Dr. Dorman Winfrey noted that in 1867, "the stage from Marshall to Huntsville passes through Henderson three times a week."[38] A Marshall newspaper reported in 1868 that "there is a very excellent stage line from this place to Jefferson, which leaves Marshall every day, Mondays excepted, and returns in the evening. The same stage line extends to Clarksville and from thence to Bryan City by way of Waco. The proprietors of this line are also running a line of stages from Marshall to Navasota, by way of Henderson, Rusk, Crockett and Huntsville."[39] Another newspaper reported in 1869 that

> We noticed several weeks ago, that Messrs. William Bradfield & Co., had established a direct stage line from Marshall to Dallas. This is a convenience that has long

> been required, and our only surprise is that it was not inaugurated years ago. At present the trip is made through in four days. After the first of May this line will carry the mail, and will make the trip in three days and without any night travel. The distances travelled are as follows: from Marshall to Tyler, 65 miles; from Tyler to Canton, 40 miles; fron Canton to Prairieville, 16 miles; Prairieville to Kaufman, 16 miles; from Kaufman to Dallas, 36 miles. When we get our railroad completed the entire distance can be travelled in eight hours.[40]

But the day of the stagecoach was passing. The stage road between Marshall and Shreveport fell into disuse after a rail link was completed. The stage line westward from Marshall disappeared, as had the buffalo earlier, when the Texas & Pacific completed its tracks to Dallas. The most popular form of public conveyance in its time, now perceived with a romantic aura for the innumerable motion pictures in which it has figured, the stagecoach was in truth a dirty, sweaty, chilling, often dangerous alternate to the less attractive use of horse or horsedrawn vehicle for long distance travel. Its successor, the iron horse, likewise has in its own turn almost disappeared from the scene, giving way to the convenience and the speed of personal automobiles and scheduled aircraft.

Yet a segment of Harrison County's old stagecoach road survives as an artifact from an earlier time. An official Texas Historical Commission marker assures a memory of a simpler way of life, when a bugle blast announced the arrival of the stagecoach in Marshall and residents closed their businesses to welcome passengers and mail.

NOTES

[1]The quotation is from the minister's *Western Sketch Book*, published in 1850, in which he recounted a three-month stay in Northeast Texas. Surveyors, in establishing the international boundary, erected a series of granite shafts on which the letters U.S. were incised on the east side and R.T. on the west side. Only one of these still stands. Set on April 23, 1841, it is located on the 32nd degree of longitude about 100 feet off Texas Highway 31 near Logansport, Louisiana. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977. See also Thomas F. Ruffin, "The Elusive East Texas Border," *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol. XI, No. 1. 1973.

[2]A copy of this letter is in the archives of the Harrison County Historical Museum in Marshall.

[3]V.H. Hackney, *Port Caddo – A Vanished Village*, Marshall National Bank, Marshall, 1966.

[4]William Ransom Hogan, *The Texas Republic, A Social and Economic History*, (Norman, 1946), 79-80.

[5]Hackney, *Port Caddo*.

[6]James Harper Starr also selected Marshall as his home after serving as secretary of the treasury of the Republic of Texas and as the Confederacy's Trans-Mississippi postmaster-general, with virtually autonomous authority while conducting the affairs of his department from headquarters in Marshall.

[7]*The Texas Republican* had begun publication in Marshall earlier in 1849 and quickly became one of the most widely quoted and most highly respected newspapers in the state.

[8]A planter in the Leigh community, John B. Webster reported 160 acres of improved farm land, 19 slaves and 34 bales of cotton from the 1849 crop in the federal census of 1850. Ten years later, he had increased his holdings to $16,678 worth of real property, including 1,100 acres of improved farm land, and personal property including 75 slaves, worth $54,400. His 1859 cotton crop totaled 203 bales. Randolph B. Campbell, "Planters and Plain Folk: Harrison County, Texas, as a Test Case, 1850-1860," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XL, No. 3, August 1974.

[9]The lake never was completely or satisfactorily cleared. In fact, removal of The Great Raft in Red River after the Civil War reduced the level of water in the lake to a point that river traffic became impossible. Port Caddo disappeared, as a consequence, and survives only as a place name.

[10]The use of the word "now" introduces a degree of uncertainty as to how long the line may have been operating before the newspaper notice. However, this is the best evidence so far discovered bearing on the start of service into Marshall.

[11]If Charles DeMorse's estimate of "about 500" in 1842 can be credited, this total represents an increase in population of more than 2,300 percent in eight years.

[12]Map, *Harrison County Historical Herald*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April-May 1974. This issue was inserted as a special tabloid section of the *Marshall News Messenger* in connection with the 1974 observance of Stagecoach Days, the city's annual historical festival.

[13]A large color photograph of a section of the road was presented to Marshall High School by the MHS class of 1928 when it held its 50th anniversary reunion in May 1978. Among members of the class attending the reunion was Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, widow of the late president.

[14]Reprinted in the issue of the *Marshall News Messenger* for February 6, 1959, and attributed to an original publication in February 1852.

[15]The author has discovered no evidence that construction of this road ever was initiated, or, for that matter, that the road was intended for stagecoach use. The proposal does indicate, however, the importance attached at this period to adequate transportation facilities.

[16]"Yesteryear" column, *Marshall News Messenger*, reprinting from November 1852.

[17]*Ibid.*, April 18, 1960, from April 1852.

[18]*Ibid.*, November 15, 1963, from November 1852.

[19]*Ibid.*, November 5, 1963, from November 1852.

[20]*Ibid.*, from an 1856 issue.

[21]Dorman H. Winfrey, *A History of Rusk County, Texas* (Waco, 1961), 32.

[22]After the Civil War, the name was changed to Capitol Hotel as a memorial to three Trans-Mississippi Department governor's conferences held therein during the war.

[23]Scrapbook, Mrs. Charles A. Beehn, Harrison County Historical Museum.

[24]"Yesteryear" column, *Marshall News Messenger*, December 4, 1960, from December 1854. The reference to the water level in the Red River-Caddo Lake-Big

Cypress system makes it plain that reliance could not be placed on river transportation.

[25]*Ibid.*, 1954.

[26]Vera Frazier, "Violence Hit Old Butterfield Line," *The El Paso Times*, Sunday, May 19, 1963, unpaginated.

[27]Quoted from Charles H. Dillon, "The Arrival of the Telegraph in Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXIV, No. 2, October 1960.

[28]*Marshall News Messenger*, February 24, 1959, from February 1854.

[29]Dillon, "The Arrival of the Telegraph in Texas."

[30]Map, *Harrison County Historical Herald, op. cit.*

[31]Undated 1959 issue, *Marshall News Messenger*, from 1859, archives, Harrison County Historical Museum.

[32]*Ibid.*, May 7, 1961, from 1861.

[33]Rail service in Harrison County before the Civil War was limited to a line which the Southern Pacific Railroad (in no way connected with the modern company) operated from Swanson's Landing on the south shore of Caddo Lake southwest 12 miles to Jonesville, then eight miles west to Scottsville, and finally five miles west to within one mile of Marshall. Between August 1863 and June 1864, and with the assistance of the Confederate army, the rails between Caddo Lake and Jonesville were picked up and relaid from Scottsville to Greenwood, Louisiana, 14 miles west of Shreveport. The rail link between Marshall and Shreveport was not completed until after the war. Letter, January 5, 1951, Arthur L. Carnahan, chief railroad accountant, Railroad Commission of Texas, to O.H. Clark, president, First National Bank, Marshall.

[34]*The Fremantle Diary, Being the Journal of Lieutenant Colonel James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, Coldstream Guards, on his Three Months in the Southern States*, edited by Walter Lord, (London, 1956), 62-65.

[35]Reprinted from *The Texas Republican* of the same week in a weekly column, "Marshall, C.S.A., 1862," *Marshall News Messenger*, January 1, 1862.

[36]Quotations are from W.W. Heartsill, *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army, A Journal Kept by W.W. Heartsill for Four Years, One Month and One Day, or Camp Life, Day by Day, of the W.P. Lane Rangers, from April 19th 1861 to May 20th, 1865*, reprinted by McCowat-Mercer Press (Jackson, Tennessee), 1954.

[37]See Note 33 above.

[38]Winfrey, *Rusk County*.

[39]"Yesteryear" column, undated, *Marshall News Messenger*, from 1868, clipping in Harrison County Historical Museum.

[40]*Ibid.*, 1958, from 1869.

THE HOWARD ASSOCIATION OF GALVESTON: THE 1850s, THEIR PEAK YEARS

by Peggy Hildreth

> The epidemic commenced on the 1st [of September]. Since that time the burials have averaged about twelve per day. This morning ten coffins were ordered before 8 o'clock. Our Association, during the past three weeks, has expended about $1,200 . . . . Our population is about 4,500. The deaths up to this time amount to about 15 percent.[1]

Mr. James W. Moore, president of the Howard Association of Galveston, Texas, was describing the local epidemic of 1853, the peak year of yellow fever invasions in which the Howards served, and requesting donations for the *de facto* organization. The Galveston group was the younger sibling of the Howard Association of New Orleans (1837-1878).[2] Both benevolent male societies originally concentrated on caring for indigent yellow fever sufferers, and took their inspiration and name from John Howard (1726-1790), British philanthropist famous for social and penal reforms.[3] All Howards were volunteer, unpaid and unsectarian, providing treatment for all applicants in need, regardless of race, color or sex.

The birth of the first Howard Association in the South, in New Orleans in the 1830s, was in keeping with the national ferment for altruistic moral and social reform, manifesting itself in temperance leagues, asylum reforms, movements for women's rights and abolitionism. "Americans, . . . consistently form associations," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville, "to give entertainments, to found seminaries, . . . to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes."[4] As early as the 1820s some American cities even "had an embarrassment of benevolent organizations."[5] Howard Associations, or similar citizen groups, existed in every major American city by mid-nineteenth century, each autonomous and dealing with local problems, such as crime reduction or public health.

The Howards of New Orleans and Galveston focused on public health. In answer to the 1853 appeal from the Galveston Howards, the New Orleans group, while combating the worst yellow fever epidemic in its city's history, sent them $1,000.[6]

When the 1853 epidemic was over, the Galveston organization wrote its charter and was incorporated by the state of Texas the following year.[7] But in 1854 the Howards also accepted $160 in "remaining funds" from Mr. Willard

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Peggy Hildreth is from Houston, Texas.

Richardson, New Englander by birth, owner-editor-publisher of the Galveston *News* and politically quite influential.[8] Richardson was also "Pres't of the Howard Association prior to 1853."[9] Not only had the Howards been meeting before 1853, they had also served actively in the yellow fever epidemics of 1844 and 1847.

Galveston, incorporated in 1839, was a busy seaport located on an island in the semi-tropical zone off the Texas coast in the Gulf of Mexico. The city's climate and topography were conducive to the propagation of the yellow fever mosquito and its location made it vulnerable to yellow fever infection from the Caribbean, Central and South America and possibly from West Africa.[10] A typical early nineteenth-century city with poor drainage, open sewers and a public health problem, Galveston would withstand eight major yellow fever invasions. The first of these occurred in 1839 and claimed 25 percent of Galveston's one thousand inhabitants.[11] Yellow fever probably first invaded North America in 1693 via Boston,[12] while the disease was first documented in the Gulf coast area in New Orleans in 1796.[13]

Yellow fever, sometimes termed Yellow Jack or Saffron Scourge, is characterized by fever, body pain and headache; in its final stages, it is clearly identified by jaundice and sometimes black vomit. If the patient survives, he enjoys life-long immunity to the disease. Many natives had experienced mild childhood cases, misdiagnosed but still insuring immunity. Unaware of the reason for this safeguard, antebellum southerners believed that they possessed a natural resistance to yellow fever. It was these "immunes," therefore, who volunteered as Howards.[14] The Negro of West African ancestry, who had been attuned to survival from yellow fever, was even less likely to develop the disease.[15] Not until 1900, through the efforts of Major Walter Reed, M.D., and the Yellow Fever Commission, was it proven that yellow fever is not contagious but is transmitted by the female *aedes aegypti* mosquito. The last major yellow fever epidemic in the nation occurred in New Orleans in 1905.[16]

Of the eight major yellow fever epidemics in Galveston, the Howards served in six, the first in 1844. Between 1839 and 1844, the city's population had more than trebled,[17] due to the influx of easterners from the States and European immigrants, largely from Germany. These unacclimated, white non-natives would form the bulk of the candidates for the dreaded Yellow Yack.

There were no official provisions for public health in the Republic of Texas or the city of Galveston in 1844. Since the unacclimated strangers lacked influence, their security interests carried little political clout.[18] As yellow fever spread in 1844 and no temporary municipal aid seemed forthcoming, several

substantial Galveston gentlemen, including Colonel Nahor B. Yard, John H. Chapman and possibly Jacob L. Briggs "associated themselves together" informally to care for the dying immigrants.[19] Yard and Briggs were commission merchants and subsequently private bankers.[20] Later Briggs served as one of the first directors of Samuel May Williams' Commercial and Agricultural Bank.[21]

To raise money in 1844, these early Howards gave a benefit at Colonel John S. Sydnor's Hall on the southeast corner of Tremont and Market streets. Located over a saloon, the large hall was often rented out as a theatre.[22] The play featured Yard "as the heavy tragedian," while Chapman furnished comic relief.[23] The Howards used the benefit receipts to feed and medicate the ill and to bury the four hundred dead, which represented 11 percent of the city of 3,500.[24] The epidemic over, the informal group disbanded, only to meet again in three years.

Late in September 1847 shortly after their arrival in Galveston, two German immigrants died of an illness which suspiciously resembled yellow fever.[25] The first week in October President Willard Richardson of the Howards assured Galvestonians that the city was as healthy as could be expected for that "season of the year."[26] But the second week in October, as tolling church bells broadcast the increased mortality, yellow fever was declared epidemic and the Howards quickly began their work among the ill. By the end of November, Yellow Jack had claimed two hundred, or 5 percent, of the city of 4,000.[27] Among the deceased were two brothers from the East, ages eighteen and twenty, who were newcomers to Galveston and who died within a week of each other. Their untimely deaths "threw a gloom over the place and the people especially," wrote Miss Fanny Overton Trueheart,[28] the seventeen-year-old sister of Henry Martyn Trueheart, later assessor and tax collector for Galveston County.[29]

During the balance of the 1840s, yellow fever abated, only to return with exuberant vigor in the 1850s, when it scourged Galveston in 1853, 1854 and 1858, claiming over 1,200 victims, a population sufficient to stock a contemporary Texas town. Because of the severity of yellow fever, the fifties were the high point of Howard service in Galveston.

Yellow fever entered the nation in 1853 through the port of New Orleans in May, much earlier than usual. It was particularly virulent and ravaged towns throughout Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Texas. Early in August the first cases appeared in Galveston from New Orleans aboard the *S.S. City of Mexico*,[30]

but, because of the unusually cool summer, physicians assured citizens that the fever would be limited. As cases mounted, however, yellow fever was declared epidemic on September 1.[31] Between August 30 and September 8, fifty-seven deaths occurred, "one-half to two-thirds," of which were caused by yellow fever. On September 4, fourteen deaths were recorded in a single day.[32]

Under the leadership of Howard president James W. Moore, the group quickly mobilized, and, to facilitate the care of the sick, divided the city into three wards with a visiting committee headed by a chairman for each ward.[33] Since there was a paucity of immune nurses, the Association pressed older residents who had survived the epidemic of 1847 into service. This group was praised by the press as "universally alive to the offices of humanity."[34]

At mid-century medical knowledge in the nation was limited. Laboratory tests were unknown and the germ theory would not surface until late in the century. Unsure of the cause of yellow fever, Americans, including Galvestonians, largely blamed the disease on miasma, or bad air, which they sought to dispel by burning tar, sulphur, and old whiskey barrels. Some Texans blamed the disease on intemperance, night air, summer heat, hogs and fomites, which they believed were minute particles capable of transporting disease from infected areas by means of freight, clothing or material possessions. In keeping with this latter theory, Galveston Mayor Henry Seeligson and other city officials obtained permission from Washington, D.C. to utilize the federal lightship "as a quarantine lighter."[35] This was anchored offshore for the reception and five-day detention of incoming freight. Galveston's quarantine was declared a failure later by the local press, whereas Matagorda's, which was more stringently enforced, even against "lawyers from Houston and Galveston," proved more effective.[36]

In nineteenth-century port cities public health problems were subservient to mercantile interests, since even the rumor of epidemic was injurious to trade. Press coverage of Galveston epidemics was equally lax. When yellow fever began, the media ignored its presence; as deaths increased, they devoted columns to the scourged cities of Louisiana and Alabama. When the disease was declared epidemic locally, mortality statistics were usually minimized.

In keeping with this practice, the Galveston *News*, in spite of reporting on October 9, 1853 that deaths from yellow fever were averaging seven per day, claimed that this was nothing in comparison with mortality from the disease in Houston,

Indianola and Lavaca. The paper did admit, however, that Galveston had lost four physicians and six of its eight Catholic priests in the epidemic.[37]

HOWARD ASSOCIATION OF GALVESTON, 1844-1882

	Year	Galveston Population	Yellow Fever Mortality	Percentage of Population Dead of Y.F.
1.	1844	3,500	400	11
2.	1847	4,000	200	5
3.	1853	4,500	536	12
4.	1854	5,000	404	8
5.	1858	7,000	344	5
6.	1867	13,000	1,150	9

Howard Association of Galveston served in only six yellow fever epidemics in Galveston. Population above from Ben Stuart, "Former Fever Times," Galveston *News*, June 9, 1907; James W. Moore, President of the Howards in 1853, as cited in New Orleans *Picayune*, October 1, 1853. Population of 1867 extrapolated from U.S. Census, 1870, as cited in *Texas Almanac, 1976-1977*, 189. Yellow fever mortality from George M. Sternberg, M.D., *Report on the Etiology and Prevention of Yellow Fever* (Washington, D.C., 1890), 44, a source recommended by William B. Bean, M.D., Medical Humanities, UTMB, Galveston, an authority on yellow fever and Walter Reed.

The fever raged through November into December, coming to a halt ten days before Christmas. Of the city of 4,500, 536 had died, which represented approximately 12 percent of the city,[38] among yellow fever epidemics in Galveston second only to the 25 percent dead in 1839. The Howards cared for 282 patients, of whom seventy-six, or 21 percent, died. In addition to paying the burial expenses of their clients, the benevolent group volunteered to bury fifty other indigents, who had not been under its care.[39]

The forty-five Howards in 1853 were divided into three groups: officers, fund raisers and nurses, although members often served in several roles or exchanged duties. President James W. Moore, vice-president O.C. Hartley, secretary J.P. Schwalm, and treasurer Henry Jenkins were administrative officers.[40] A Virginian by birth, Moore was clerk of the district court;[41] Jenkins was cashier at the Agricultural and Commercial Bank,[42] while six fund raisers of various backgrounds made up the collection committee.

The balance of thirty five members were laymen visiting nurses. Included in this group were ex-New Yorker Lorenzo Sherwood, lawyer-economist involved in railroad speculation;[43] his partner, attorney William H. Goddard;[44] county clerk and alderman Oscar Farish, a veteran of the battle of San Jacinto; [45] and Christopher H. Pix, a vestryman of the Episcopal Trinity Church.[46]

As yellow fever cases mounted, the Howards delegated the care of the sick to hired nurses, usually mulatresses, who were

often free women of color. These were paid between $1 and $1.50 for a twelve-hour day and $3 for twenty-four hour duty.[47]

Patterning their treatment on that of their mentors in New Orleans, Howard care of the sick centered on simple home care and the comfort of the patient. They stressed open bowels, simple diet and rest. For fever reduction, they recommended moderate doses of quinine, ice administered orally and cooling sponge baths. The Howards occasionally hired a cupper for bleeding.

Physicians, on the other hand, besides massive bleeding and blistering with hot mustard poultices, prescribed, among other things, ten grains of calomel followed by castor oil, twenty four grains of quinine three times daily, powdered charcoal, oil of black pepper and extract of dandelions.[48] Considering these heroic doses and exotic potions, and in view of twentieth-century medical knowledge,[49] the common-sense nursing services of the Howards gain validity.

To finance its charities during the epidemic of 1853, the Association raised in excess of $7,600, of which $5,500 was spent. Over one-half of its expenditures were for nursing, medicine and physicians' expenses, including livery bills and medicine administered by the doctor. More than $900 went for clothing, bedding, meat and wood to materially aid the indigent ill and a similar sum covered the burial expenses of the 126 deceased. Welfare to "Needy Families and Strangers" accounted for over $200. Peripheral action, a contemporary term used to describe aid to outlying towns, came to $500, which was given to yellow fever sufferers in Indianola and Port Lavaca.[50]

The chief Howard method of fund raising consisted of contacting business ties, such as commercial firms in the East engaged in the cotton trade with Galveston. For example, in 1853 the New York firm of E.M. Green and M. McGrath acted as a depository for local donors. This money was then forwarded through the Galveston firm of Jacob L. Briggs and J.C. Shaw to the Howards.[51]

Besides New Yorkers, the Sandwich Glass Company of Boston sent $25. Philadelphians contributed as did Texans in Austin, Rock Island Post Office and Nacogdoches. Galvestonians also donated. William Pitt Ballinger, who lost several children to yellow fever, gave $15 and Samuel May Williams contributed $20. The crew from the schooner *Jane Elizabeth* sent $2.50 and the Contribution Box, Verandah, probably on the porch of the Howard office, yielded $1.60.[52] Other gifts were material objects, such as one-half cord of wood, valued at $3, and a book collection, which the Howards sold.[53] In 1848 one material gift consisted of six dozen cooped-up, cackling

chickens from the ladies of Saluria, delivered to the Howard office by the Matagorda Pilots' Association.[54]

The seriousness of the yellow fever epidemic of 1853 is indicated by the fifteen weeks of the period, which was more than double the length of the usual fever season, as well as by the mortality of 536 persons. The personal aspect of these statistics is brought home by a letter written to Gail Borden of condensed milk fame by Judge James P. Cole, who later became a Howard:

> We have had an awful summer. I have witnessed [previous] epidemics . . . but nothing like the present, . . . either in the malignancy of the disease or the distress, moral and material, consequent upon it. Brother Shackelford, a member of our church came here last spring from Bastrop to spend a couple of years for the health of his wife and to educate his children, especially a son . . . 14 years of age. Early in the epidemic, his youngest child died and was buried in the corner of the lot they occupied. The father returned [after an absence from the city] . . . only in time to lay his beautiful boy along side of the first. He seemed crushed to the earth, but alas! his troubles were not over; for eventually, he and a daughter of his wife's were left alone of the seven who came here in the spring.[55]

For Howard service in the epidemic of 1853, the press praised the men who "have been indefatigable in their exertions and deserve all honor for their noble and disinterested benevolence."[56] The epidemic over, the Howards borrowed the charter and the seal of the head of John Howard from the Howards of New Orleans, and wrote their charter, constitution and by-laws, modeling them on those of the older organization.[57]

The following year they were chartered by the state as a non-profit corporation whose purpose was "relief to the indigent sick and the destitute, and especially so . . . during the prevalence of the yellow fever and other epidemics." In keeping with their corporate status they were capable of holding real estate, which they limited to $50,000. At the expiration of their charter in twenty-five years, the Association requested that its holdings be given to the city of Galveston to be used as a hospital fund. Provision was made for a widows' and orphans' fund.[58]

In its constitution and by-laws, the Howards limited membership to twenty-five. Each prospective member was to make application in writing and be reviewed by a committee, which, in view of the consistent membership problems, seems unrealistic. Experienced members were responsible for the training of the new. Honorary non-voting membership was created. The five administrative officers were to be elected

annually on the first Monday of May. The duties of these officers and the committees under their supervision were carefully spelled out.[59]

The Howard pattern of mustering, fund raising and caring for the sick was followed in the epidemics of 1854 and 1858, in which 404 and 344 respectively died.[60] After the epidemics of the fifties were over, the Howards met to assess the situation and plan future tactics. They estimated that the care of a single patient in 1858 had averaged $20 and believed that they could halve this cost if they were allowed to construct a Howard hospital, which they had been requesting since 1854. They also stated that with efficient hospital care, mortality from yellow fever could be reduced from 25 to 15 percent.[61]

Through the efforts of a dedicated soliciting committee, consisting of Howards, Ferdinand Flake of Flake's *Bulletin*, *J.M.* Jones and Henri de St. Cyr, the Galveston City Company in 1859 offered to donate Outlot 68 in the southeast quarter of the city as a site for the Howard Infirmary. Galvestonians, however, refused to subscribe to a fever hospital within city limits,[62] and the plans were shelved forever.

The Howards faced other problems incident to epidemics, such as the distribution of children orphaned by yellow fever. In order to place them, the Howards often outfitted the youngsters. In 1859, even with the expenditure of $2.40 to spruce up an orphan boy named Klay, Howard John W. Jockusch, the Prussian Consul to Galveston,[63] had difficulty in placing him in a private home. The foster mother not only returned her $8 wages, but also the boy.[64] The premature digging of graves by the church sextons presented another dilemma. The sextons wanted to stay ahead of their work, but desisted when the Howards refused payment for unordered graves.[65] No doubt the Howards were concerned about the psychological impact of this practice on the ill and their families.

After the height of their career in the fifties, although the Howards kept the organization viable until 1882, they served in only one more yellow fever epidemic, that of 1867. In this last major epidemic in the city, 1,150 died of yellow fever, which represented 9 percent of the city's population of approximately 13,000.[66] This did not rival the 12 percent mortality of 1853.

Organizations do not usually die rapidly. They often last years beyond their actual usefulness and along the way have periods of revival. Only in retrospect does the steady downgrade become apparent. This was the case with the Howards.

During the next fifteen years after their last active service in Galveston in 1867, the Howards sent aid to yellow fever patients in Calvert and Marshall, Texas in 1973 and to sufferers of the disease in Memphis, Tennessee and Vicksburg, Mississippi in 1878. Galveston had no yellow fever epidemic that year, but the epidemic that ravaged the rest of the nation impressed the group that the disease was still rampant. As a result, the organization rallied and in 1879 renewed its charter for fifty more years.[67] Shortly before the rechartering, the men had voted that the names of Jacob L. Briggs, J. Frederick, J. Gloor, C.R. Reynolds and Ferdinand Flake, who had died since the last epidemic, be inscribed on a memorial page in the minutes in recognition of their work for the Association.[68]

Six months later, however, a financial blow fell. The Howards were obliged to write off an uncollectable loan of $5,084.35. In accordance with their by-laws, they were allowed to loan money at interest. Mr. Peter Erhard, to whom the loan had been made, had had insurmountable business reversals and was dying. The Howards wrote off his loan.[69]

From the inception of the organization, keeping members had proven difficult. Most members served in only one epidemic and then resigned. Finding immune replacements, who were willing to perform menial chores without pay for long hours during the summer heat, was no easy task. Probably the combination of dwindling funds and thinning ranks - from deaths and membership problems - contributed to the Howard denouement.

On May 1, 1882 the last entry occurs in the records. The Howards had paid their bills and the treasurer reported $5,500 in outstanding loans and over $1,400 in cash on hand. The group had just elected officers for the coming year.[70] There is nothing conclusive in the message or tone of the entry. It can be assumed that the group had every intention of continuing its activities. But Galveston no longer needed the Howards; unknowing, they waited. No other organization took the Howards' place, nor will.

Although no clue seems to exist as to the final disposition of the Howard cash or uncollected loans, the altruistic volunteer group had served the indigent ill of Galveston during six epidemics from 1844 through 1867 and dispensed over a quarter of a million dollars. To echo the *News*, this was noble benevolence. It was also Texas Good Samaritanism at its best.

NOTES

[1]New Orleans *Picayune*, October 1, 1853; hereinafter cited as *Picayune*.

[2]Peggy Hildreth, "The Howard Association of New Orleans, 1837-1878." (Unpublished doctorial dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1975).

[3]Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1921-22), X, 44-47.

[4]Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* in Phillips Bradley (ed.), The Henry Reeve Text as Revised by Francis Bowen (New York, 1963), II, 106.

[5]Robert Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago, 1960), 47.

[6]*Report of the Howard Association of New Orleans, Epidemic of 1853* (New Orleans, 1853), 24; *Constitution and By-Laws of the Howard Association of Galveston with the Report of the Association for the Year 1853* (Galveston, 1854), 4, hereinafter cited as *Howard Report, 1853*.

[7]*Ibid.*, 13.

[8]Earl Wesley Fornell, *The Galveston Era* (Austin, 1961), 142-43.

[9]*Howard Report, 1853*, 6.

[10]William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976), 211; Erwin H. Ackerknecht, M.D., *History and Geography of the Most Important Diseases* (New York, 1965), 53, 55-57; Charles-Edward A. Winslow, *The Conquest of Epidemic Disease* (New York, 1967), 193. The origin of yellow fever is highly controversial. McNeill and Ackerknecht favor West Africa and Winslow opts for the Western Hemisphere.

[11]George M. Sternberg, M.D., *Report on the Etiology and Prevention of Yellow Fever* (Washington, D.C., 1890), 44.

[12]John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge, 1953), 141.

[13]Jo Ann Carrigan, "The Saffron Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1796-1905," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1961), 92.

[14]Pat Ireland Nixon, M.D., *The Medical Story of Early Texas, 1528-1853* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1946), 302.

[15]McNeill, 215.

[16]Carrigan, 279.

[17]Ben Stuart, "Former Fever Times," Galveston *News*, June 9, 1907.

[18]Fornell, 66.

[19]Charles W. Hayes, *Galveston* (Cincinnati, 1879), II, 852.

[20]Fornell, 41.

[21]Margaret Swett Henson, *Samuel May Williams* (College Station, Texas, 1976), 140.

[22]Hayes, II, 932.

[23]*Ibid.*, II, 852.

[24]Mortality statistics: Sternberg, *op. cit.*; population: Ben Stuart, *op. cit.*

[25]Galveston *News*, April 11, 1942.

[26]Ben Stuart, *op. cit.*

[27]Mortality statistics: Sternberg, *op. cit.*; population: Ben Stuart, *op. cit.*

[28]Letter dated October 31, 1847 from Miss Fanny Overton Trueheart to her aunt, Miss Kitty T. Minor of Louisa County, Virginia, Henry Martyn Trueheart Papers, MS, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.

[29]Unpublished biographical sketch of the Trueheart family, Archives, Rosenberg Library, Galveston; also interview March 2, 1978 with Mrs. John McCullough of Galveston, granddaughter of Henry Martyn Trueheart.

[30]Galveston *News*, April 11, 1942.

[31]Galveston *News*, as cited in *Picayune*, October 13, 1853.

[32]Galveston *Journal*, as cited in *Picayune*, September 14, 1853.

[33]Galveston *News*, September 20, 1853.

[34]Galveston *Journal*, as cited in *Picayune*, September 14, 1853; Galveston *News*, as cited in *Picayune*, October 13, 1853.

[35]Galveston *News*, as cited in *Picayune*, September 14, 1853.

[36]Galveston *News*, as cited in *Picayune*, October 13, 1853.

[37]*Ibid.*

The memorial to the six Catholic priests still stands at St. Mary's Cathedral, Galveston.

[38]Mortality statistics: Sternberg, *op cit.*; population: President James W. Moore of the Howard Association of Galveston, as cited in *Picayune*, October 1, 1853.

[39]*Howard Report, 1853*, 7.

[40]*Ibid.*, 8.

[41]Document No. 25-0089, Papers of Gail Borden, Jr., 1801-1874, MS, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.

[42]Henson, 146.

[43]Fornell, 144.

[44]*Ibid.*, 164.

[45]Galveston *News*, Supplement, April 21, 1872.

[46]Fornell, 80.

[47]Minutes of August 22, September 23, 1854, *Records, The Howard Association of Galveston, 1854-1882*, MS, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, hereinafter cited as *Minutes*.

[48]Nixon, 302-03.

[49]Today massive bleeding and blistering as medical treatments are in disrepute. Mustard poultices are non-therapeutic. The calomel cited, followed by castor oil, is a large purgative dose. Seventy-two grains of quinine daily is termed excessive and "head-ringing." Charcoal, black pepper and dandelions are of no medicinal value in the treatment of yellow fever. Interview March 1, 1978 with William Bennett Bean, M.D., Director, Department of Medical Humanities, University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston, Texas.

[50]*Howard Report, 1853*, 7.

[51]*Ibid.*, 3.

[52]*Ibid.*, 4-7.

[53]*Ibid.*, 6.

[54]*Minutes*, October 15, 1848.

[55]Letter dated November 19, 1853 from Judge James P. Cole to Gail Borden. Gail Borden Papers, *op. cit.*

[56]Galveston *News*, as cited in *Picayune*, October 13, 1853.

[57]*Howard Report, 1853*, 11-21.

[58]*Ibid.*, 11-14.

[59]*Ibid.*, 13-21.

[60]Sternberg, *op. cit.*

[61]W. and D. Richardson, "Howard Association of Galveston," *Galveston Directory for 1859-60* (Galveston: 1859), 87.

[62]*Minutes*, February 1, May 27, August 5, 1859.

[63]Fornell, 46.

[64]*Minutes*, February 1, May 27, 1859.

[65]*Ibid.*, August 26, 1859.

[66]Mortality statistics: Sternberg, *op. cit.*; population of 1867 extrapolated conservatively by author based on Galveston's population of 13,818, United States Census of 1870, as cited in *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide, 1976-1977* (A.H. Belo and Corporation: 1975), 189.

[67]*Minutes*, May 24, 1879.

[68]*Ibid.*, May 17, 1879.

[69]*Ibid.*, November 22, 1879.

[70]*Ibid.*, May 1, 1882.

THE FOLKLORE AND FACTS BEHIND THE LULING DISCOVERY WELL

by Riley Froh

Although truth is often stranger than fiction, there are many stories which lend themselves to folklore, and, while they are entertaining when told with zest and inventiveness, the actual facts are no less interesting. Therefore, it is the purpose of this paper to dispell the folklore and present the facts about a fascinating New England Yankee who came to Luling, Texas, and discovered oil where others had failed.

The bulk of mistaken information about Edgar Davis and his Luling Discovery well is to be found in magazine and newspaper accounts. For example, an October 22, 1951, obituary in *Time* magazine states that Edgar B. Davis, the eccentric Texas oil millionaire, was "best known for his support of a famous Broadway flop, *The Ladder,* which he kept going for two years because he wanted to help its author and spread its message of reincarnation. Davis made a fortune in Sumatra and got 12 million for the sale of his oil wells in Texas, spent his money lavishly on such items as $1,000,000 in bonuses for drillers and a golf course for his Negro servants."[1]

Typically, this brief notice about the Texas wildcatter is only partially true and contains several false statements about the man, because Davis, a legend in his own time, inspired such exaggeration. In reality, the $1,000,000 was not earmarked for his drillers but rather for his management committee; the drillers received smaller bonuses. He did not build a golf course for his Negro servants. Instead, he constructed similar recreation centers for all the black and white citizens of Luling. The gesture to the Negro minority in the 1920s was even more remarkable for the time than an enlarged tale of a golf course for black employees.

Many have called Edgar B. Davis eccentric, and perhaps it was his unconventional personality that led to several halftruths about a career that would be exceptional without embellishment. Davis's peculiar life-style made him part of the folklore of the oil industry. He was a charming, internationally known character. He played an excellent game of bridge, told a fine story with style, and as a youth had been a recognized athlete. A wealthy man, Davis made three fortunes on his own, and this success, coupled with his extreme generosity with his millions, combined to establish him as legendary.

Riley Froh, of La Porte, Texas, presented a version of this paper to the Fall, 1977 meeting of The Association.

It is in keeping with his fame that the story of the Davis discovery well is wrapped in drama. Edgar Wesley Owen, in his recent monumental history of exploration for petroleum, *Trek of the Oil Finders*, calls Rios #1 ". . . about as wild a wildcat as one ever encounters."[2] Yet, the most often repeated incident related to the discovery well, the account of the gusher's coming in on August 9, 1922 and drenching Edgar B. Davis with oil, was not true of Rios #1.

Word of mouth kept this version alive in Luling for years, and writer Ken Foree finally put it into print in 1947 for the Silver Anniversary Luling Oil Jubilee. According to tradition, this is what occurred. Davis was out of money and had exhausted his credit. To raise capital, he was going north to approach old contacts. Davis and two companions, W.F. Peale and Miss Agnes Manford, made one last trip to Rios #1:

> It mattered little to Davis that he had a big overdraft at the bank, that he had given creditors notes for returned checks, that his telephone had been cut off, his automobiles and office furniture sold, his hotel bill overdue, his drilling crew unpaid, that he had not a cent in his pocket or a postage stamp to his name. Such material things were only the sinews of war to Davis who had seen something like that which Paul saw on the road to Damascus.
>
> Therefore, he was not too disturbed that hot afternoon when the Rafael Rios No. 1 did nothing. He talked with the crew a moment. He could have said such words as 'Carry on,' for there is no turning back to the man, then he returned to the car. As Peale sat under the wheel, Miss Manford in the back seat, the kindly cheerful giant put a heavy foot on the runningboard and said in his pleasant, quiet, cultured voice, 'Well, shall we go? I must go to town before—'
>
> Just then Miss Manford stiffened up as if charged with electricity. Her arm shot out, her index finger pointed in a way Dorothy Dix would disapprove of. 'Look, Boys, look!'
>
> A black column was rising from the Rafael Rios #1, the crew was scattering. The column was rising higher, higher, like an aroused, giant snake. Miss Manford and Peale quickly hopped out of the car as the black column rose higher, rose up above the crown block, and began to spray the black, gummy stuff of which millions are made.[3]

This saga has been repeated in various publications for the last thirty years, and Ken Foree has been shamefully plagiarized. Finally, when a group of Luling citizens got together the Golden Anniversary celebration in 1972, they printed for distribution the

same incorrect Foree account of the Silver Anniversary.[4] Why not, for what could be more dramatic than a timely gusher?

The truth is quite simple. Drew Mosely, the driller, noticed a little oil sign in the mud which was emerging from the hole around the rotary drill. As he stopped the machinery to investigate further, K.C. Baker, who was a combination tool pusher and land man, arrived. The novice Baker, who had been a forester with Davis in the rubber business in Sumatra, insisted on drilling deeper to hit the oil which he assumed lay underneath the faint trace in the mud. The experienced Mosely refused, hung the brake, declared that he would not ruin a well, and thereby saved the discovery. Boring deeper would have hit the salt water which acted as a natural pressure to raise the oil lying above it for recovery. The usual operations completed the well, which began to flow by heads as the pressure built and receded.[5]

These commonplace events contain drama enough. Operating past the usual cut off date on credit and with a drilling crew and office staff working unpaid, Davis was able to continue exploration because of a solid strike. One well could not "prove" his field; but each successful oil well told the enlarged story of a real petroleum find. The development of his oil leases was what Davis called his "toughest fight."[6]

It was during this struggle to map out the leased acreage that the folklore of the witnessing of the gusher merged with the actual "baptizing in oil," as Davis referred to the experience which he considered so important. Subsequent drilling did produce gushers; that is, oil spurted up and over the 94-foot high crown block of the drilling rig. The importance of these spectacular scenes in 1922 is that they were convincing; oil erupted with authority in front of townspeople, petroleum scouts, traveling spectators, newspapermen, and photographers. It was the second Davis well, the Merriweather #2 in Guadalupe County, where Edgar Davis, W.F. Peale, and Miss Agnes Manford were drenched in oil.[7] Obviously, the drama was present in the incident; the difference between success or failure depended on such a strike; Davis would have lost control of his operations without followup production; but for the sake of folklore the incident is better experienced at Rios #1. Few raconteurs want the truth to get in the way of a good story.

But if the folklorist wants a good tale, other strange events relating to Rios #1 are true. These circumstances have to do with what Mody Boatright calls the role of chance: "Luck," he concludes, "was present at the birth of the oil industry, and the role it has since played has been both factual and legendary."[8]

One of the most common accounts of good fortune has to do

with the fortuitous location of the drilling rig at a site away from the spot designated by the geologist. Several big strikes in Texas are attributed to such an intercession of fate, and although most of the stories are pure fantasy, some are true. For instance, the Santa Rita discovery did not result in the drilling at the point of a breakdown of the equipment wagons. However, the Cooke Oil Field in Shackelford County came in because trucks could not climb a hill to the site—later proved dry—the geologist had chosen. Putting down a shaft at the foot of the hill brought a gusher. The crew of Daisey Bradford #3, the discovery well of the giant East Texas Field, drilled at a spot from which the men simply could not move the dilapidated rig with their improvised equipment.[9]

Edgar B. Davis similarly located his discovery well strictly by chance. Drilling on the recommendation of only one geologist and against the advice of several, Davis located his seventh well at random. In early summer, 1922, Davis was at the end of his rope financially. Returning to Luling from a trip abroad to push a gigantic rubber consolidation scheme for international cooperation to stabilize the price of crude rubber, Davis learned that his fourth well had been a costly duster.[10] He decided to use what little money remained and what further credit he could get to put down three wells simultaneously beginning the first week in July. Drilling right along the fault which Vern Woolsey, the discoverer of the Luling fault, had mapped, the United North and South Oil Company set up a derrick for Cartwright #3 near the other two failures on the same tract. They began rigging up the Ghormley well across the river in Guadalupe County near tiny Sullivan, Texas, and encountered a problem in making a third location.[11]

The rig had been set up on the Meriweather tract, but Peale had not secured a clear title to the lease because of a technicality in the ownership of the land involving an illegitimate child. Davis wanted to move to the nearest clear lease, in this case the Rafael Rios farm about five miles northwest of Luling and a mile north of the San Marcos River. The consulting geologist disagreed. However, Davis had the rig skidded a mile to the location which became known as the Rios #1.[12]

Bringing in a well against scientific advice has been an intricate part of the folklore of the oil industry. In Davis's case, he struck oil in Luling by going against most geological evidence and opinion. In the nineteenth century and into the very early twentieth century, men located oil by wildcatting on the basis of "surface" geology. They looked for above ground seeps of oil or recognizable salt domes such as the one at Spindletop. By 1920,

however, geology was a respectable science. It was usual for trained men to map a given region carefully before going to the expense of drilling. At that point, the geologist would choose the spot to set up the rig.

Throughout his early drilling activities, Davis had negative advice; with the exception of Vern Woolsey, who had gone to work for the Atlantic Oil and Refining Company after his brief stay with Davis, no geologist supported further exploration in the area, explaining that the numerous dry holes had graphically illustrated that oil did not exist in paying quantities; furthermore, the Edwards Lime and the Austin Chalk, the two strata that could produce liquid, were obviously porous with salt water.[13] Finally, one of the most respected geological consultants had given Davis only the slimmest of chances: "In an ordinary wildcat well, you have one chance in a hundred. Here in this situation, you have but a small fraction of one per cent of a chance."[14]

Yet, in storybook fashion, Davis brought in a well and then a major oil field; and this has been the saga of the wildcatter and thus his importance in the unending quest for black gold. Engineering techniques, no matter how advanced, can only speculate; in the final analysis, it is the drill bit that must probe and prove the mind of man right or wrong. And it is the wildcatter who will gamble on whatever hunch or notion drives him. The major company would rather go with the odds recommended by its well-paid scientists, who can find favorable circumstances but can predict no further.[15]

What does motivate the wildcat-speculator in general and just what drove Davis past the point where most men would quit? This question is not easily answered, for Davis was vague in explanation of his inner drives. There is much evidence to indicate that Davis did not attribute his fortune to luck but to spiritual guidance instead. "From the beginnings of the oil industry until today," writes Mody Boatright, "there have been oil locators whose methods were professedly occult. They get their information from the dead, from the stars, and from whatever other sources fortunetellers have used through the centuries."[16] Luling has had several unorthodox seekers after oil.

There are stories of a mysterious figure in Luling who went off by himself in pastures to commune with the spirits in order to locate oil. Who this was is not clear, but "characters" are common in the early period of oil exploration in any area. Much closer to the oil was pioneer Luling citizen, Thomas Wilson, who had emigrated from England to Luling in 1878, and who made a fairly accurate map in 1903 on which he predicted where he believed oil to be located within a hundred yards of the future

discovery well. It is not clear where Wilson got the idea so early in this century that petroleum existed in depth.[17]

Others who sought oil through the spirit world are more definite. Morris O. Rayor, an early prospector for oil in Luling, was known as "spooky Rayor" by the Lulingites because of his mysterious ways in looking for places to bore for oil.[18] Rumor suggest that Rayor "put a great deal of faith in his ability to communicate with the cosmic forces which he thought controlled his destiny as an oil speculator. He would hold seances on the grounds of his new location before he prepared to sink a new well, wherein a group would gather to help him get the guidance of the spiritual in his next endeavor to discover oil. Actually, it is believed that Rayor had little faith in the petroleum geologist, and thought it to be a waste of time and money to employ one for the location of a geological formation or the location of a well."[19]

Once again reality has been obscured. Legends about Rayor and Davis contain some truth but only half of the facts. Actually, Morris O. Rayor was a 1911 engineering graduate of the University of Colorado who had a healthy respect for the scientific approach to finding oil. He utilized the services of the State Geologist of Texas and consulting geologists from Rio Bravo Oil Company and of Shell Oil in the early drilling in Luling.[20] But he did bring a medium from Detroit, Michigan, to Luling and he did conduct the rumored seances.[21] And therefore the labels applied to Rayor — wildcatter, engineer, geologist, and spiritualist — are generally correct; moreover, his pioneering efforts prepared the way for others. Finally, Rayor continued to drill in the Luling area in the 1930s, and is credited with bringing in the discovery well in the small Dunlap Field. He left Luling in 1940 for Wyoming but returned in the mid-1960s to drill a producing well in an area which he had explored unsuccessfully prior to the discovery well in 1922.[22]

If Rayor relied on a combination of oil finding methods, the other noted spiritualist wildcatter stuck exclusively with operations of the occult to explore the region for liquid wealth. Some time in 1921 a singular oil exploration crew arrived in Luling composed of a young businessman, David Kahn, and his clairvoyant friend Edgar Cayce. To locate petroleum, Cayce went into a trance, spoke in detail of the underground production structure, while Kahn took notes. In this way they supposedly located first the town of Luling and then the oil reservoir. With three thousand acres under lease, the pair entered upon the frustrating drilling operations that depleted their funds. David Kahn records that he met Edgar Davis shortly thereafter in Fort Worth and then again in New York, where he related his phychic

information to him. It has been suggested that both Kahn and Cayce had a bearing on Davis's later success.[23]

That Davis put much stock in such chance conversations is doubtful, but he was interested in psychic phenomena. For instance, he considered it most significant that Rios #1 came in on his mother's birthday. In 1929, he was trying to get in touch with Edgar Cayce, and in the 1930s he did have several interpretations of his life given while Cayce was in his trance. Davis never actually met Cayce.[24]

Edgar B. Davis believed that he was divinely led in his business activities. This is made clear in his preamble to the charter of the Luling Foundation Farm he bequethed:

> [I believe] that a kind of gracious Providence, who guides the Destinies of all humanity, directed me in search for and the discovery of oil . . ..[25]

What has never been clear in the folklore versions is that Davis's spiritual direction was a general message he believed to be directly from God; that is, Davis was guided by a deep faith in divine providence. Often in conversation he described a religious experience of 1904 in which he said a voice annointed him for special service to his country and mankind. Every action thereafter in the rubber industry or in the oil business was conducted in the belief that eventual success would come; financial reverses such as going broke in Luling were simply the testing of his faith.[26] His belief in eventual success did not make business operations any easier, for his trials were many. But so were his victories.

Davis risked more fortunes than other men ever make because of this 1904 experience and his faith in a mission. His upbringing had prepared him for a turbulent business career. Reared a devout Congregationalist in Brockton, Massachusetts, by a religious mother, Davis was imbued with the belief of victory over trial and tribulation. Moreover, the traditional Puritan belief was innate that God's way of showing His favor to his servants was through success in one's enterprise. To round out his work-oriented background, Davis was a thorough student of the sage practical, Puritan mystic, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Finally, throughout the year 1922, Davis read and re-read Kipling's "If," a poem he considered written especially for him. His underscorings in his personal copy of Kipling left creases through several layers of pages which are visible fifty years later:

> If you can make one heap of all your winnings
> And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
> And lose, and start again at your beginnings
> And never breathe a word about your loss;

First and foremost Davis was an enterprising and resourceful capitalist who considered it moral treason to quit. Davis himself says it best; he wrote of his determination to go on in February of 1921, a year and a half before his discovery well:

> We may or may not get oil. It is an act of faith with me, but I would not feel that I had played the game without another trial and I cannot figure too nicely on what failure would mean. I feel that as a retailer of lemonade I played the game right up to the hilt; likewise in the Eaton Company; likewise in the Rubber Company; and I want to do the same in oil and feel that if we lose out, I will be the gainer from having played the game to the limit.[27]

Davis was in a sense a wildcatter before he ever began to drill for oil in an area previously considered unproductive. It takes a rare breed to become this kind of gambler. Ed Bateman, who made his lucky strike in the giant East Texas Field in the early 1930s has written an explanation of the unconventional search for oil: "security is not what the wildcatter is after. Whether he hits pay or not, he gets a solid satisfaction, a kind of spiritual experience, in piercing the unknown and finding an answer that to him is personal."[28] Folklorist J. Frank Dobie concluded that "wildcatting is a synonym for imagination as well as daring."[29] And fellow wildcatter Morris Rayor wrote that "the first oil, the Luling Field, resulted from the amazing determination and persistance of Edgar B. Davis."[30]

The legend will persist as long as the people have only part of the story, and the lore must not obscure the truth, but gradually the myth gains respectability. As late as 1972 the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* listed in its "Southwestern Collection" section "The Incredible Life of Edgar Davis," by Thomas Ricks, in *Texas Parade*. This article relies heavily on the 1947 Ken Foree booklet and contains other inaccuracies from various sources.[31]

How this leads to the further possibility of historical error is pointed up in the recently published supplement to the *Handbook of Texas*. While the *Handbook* is a monument to accurate scholarship, the entry on Edgar B. Davis is clouded by inaccuracies. For instance, he arrived in Luling in September, 1919, not "about 1921." The *Handbook* suggests that Davis came to Luling to discover oil specifically to use the money to teach diversified farming to cotton poor farmers. The fact is that he came to Luling to find oil. While wildcatting, the practical Yankee noticed the obvious poverty brought on by a one-crop economy. After making a fortune, he decided to spend some to correct this evil and to leave the money in an area which had benefitted him.

Unfortunately, the *Handbook* supplement also describes the Buckeye well as a third field discovered in Luling. Buckeye was a freak blow out near Bay City, Texas, on the Gulf Coast, a pioneer effort in deep-drilling techniques that looked like another Spindletop briefly but that played out to leave only scattered production today. It is hardly a "field" and certainly is not at Luling. A minor error, probably from the Foree booklet, describes "a Negro athletic clubhouse" in Luling which is more accurately a building designed for social gatherings.[32]

As the traditional beliefs of a people, folklore is often more appealing than an accurate but systematic account. Fortunately, though, the historian, unemcumbered by a specialized terminology, still speaks to the educated layman as well as to the fellow members of his craft. Therefore, the chronicler of actual events can still directly reach the public in competition with the free lance writer to provide inspiration or entertainment without histrionics.

In relation to Davis, the facts are as intriguing as the legend and the authentic story should become the history. It has been shown that even in an encyclopedic work of usual accuracy, an incorrect version has been relayed. But one can only hope that the truth will be the traditional narrative handed down from this generation to the next to describe the man, Edgar B. Davis, and the fascinating circumstances which surrounded the discovery of the Luling Oil Field.

NOTES

[1]"Milestones," *Time*, October 22, 1951, LVIII, 113.

[2]Edgar Wesley Owen, *Trek of the Oil Finders: A History of Exploration for Petroleum* (Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1975), 847.

[3]Kenneth Foree, Jr., *Citizen of Luling* (Magnolia Petroleum Company, 1947), 2-3.

[4]Steve King, "He Gives Away His Millions," *The American Magazine* (August, 1951), 24-25, 96-101; Frank X. Tolbert, "40,000 Guests Attended Religious Oilman's Picnic," *Texas Star*, July 18, 1971; James A. Clark, "How Davis Found Luling," *Big Orange* (1965), 22-27; *Citizen of Luling* (Mobil Oil Corporation, 1972); Thomas Ricks, "The Incredible Life of Edgar Davis," *Texas Parade* (August, 1972), 32-35; Jo Hoskinson and Vera Holding, "Unforgettable Edgar B. Davis," *Drilling* (February, 1976), 66-70.

[5]Vern Woolsey, private interview, Luling, Texas, June 7, 1967; B.H. Chamness, private interview, Luling, Texas, June 31, 1972.

[6]Edgar B. Davis, Confidential Memorandum, 1949.

[7]*Ibid.*; John M. Talmadge, "A History of the Luling Oil Field," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, 1948), 75; Edgar B. Davis, personal note, Davis Papers; David M. Figart to Riley Froh, May 19, 1970.

[8]Mody C. Boatright, *Folklore of the Oil Industry* (Dallas, 1963), 58.

[9]*Ibid.*, 64, 67-70; Martin W. Schwettmann, *Santa Rita* (Austin, 1943), 13-20; James A. Clark and Michel T. Halbouty, *The Last Boom* (New York, 1972), 39-40.

[10]Edgar B. Davis, Confidential Memorandum, 1949.

[11]Talmadge, "History of the Luling Field," 51.

[12]Miss Kate Nugent, private interview, Luling, Texas, June 30, 1967.

[13]Talmadge, "History of the Luling Field," 50.

[14]Hal Bridges, private interview, Luling, Texas, June 9, 1967.

[15]Boatright, *Folklore of the Oil Industry*, 88-90; Mody C. Boatright and William A. Owens, *Tales From the Derrick Floor* (Garden City, New York, 1970), 228-229.

[16]Boatright, *Folklore of the Oil Industry*, 23.

[17]Talmadge, "History of the Luling Field," 21.

[18]Clifford Smith, private interview, Luling, Texas, June 30, 1972.

[19]Talmadge, "History of the Luling Field," 28.

[20]Morris O. Rayor to Riley Froh, July 24, 1967; August 2, 1967.

[21]Morris O. Rayor to Riley Froh, August 13, 1967.

[22]Talmadge, "History of the Luling Field," 26-27; Morris O. Rayor to Riley Froh, July 24, 1967; Hal Bridges, private interview.

[23]Jess Stearn, *The Door to the Future* (New York, 1963), 60-61; David E. Kahn, as told to Will Oursler, *My Life with Edgar Cayce* (New York, 1970), 70-80.

[24]Mabelle Gurney to Edgar B. Davis, July (?), 1929; Edgar B. Davis to Mabelle Gurney, July 17, 1929; Hugh Lynn Cayce to Riley Froh, December 29, 1965; Gladys Davis Turner to Riley Froh, April 5, 1967.

[25]Edgar B. Davis, Charter to Luling Foundation Farm, Anniversary Booklet, 1947.

[26]Edgar B. Davis, Confidential Memorandum, 1949; David M. Figart, private interview, Briarcliff Manor, New York, July 29, 1970; Inez Griffin, private interview, Luling, Texas, June 30, 1967; Miss Kate Nugent, private interview; Hall Bridges, private interview.

[27]Edgar B. Davis to Oscar Davis, February 28, 1921.

[28]J. Frank Dobie, *Out of the Old Rock* (New York, 1973), 54.

[29]Dobie, *Out of the Old Rock*, 55.

[30]Morris O. Rayor to Riley Froh, July 24, 1967.

[31]"Southwestern Collection," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXVI, 332.

[32]*The Handbook of Texas* (3 vols.; Austin, 1952), 1976), III, 229-230.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

by James M. McReynolds

The Spring meeting of the ETHA was a fun and informative time for the hundred and fifty members attending. Members of the Association who arrived Friday night (February 23) rode from our headquarters at the Baker Hotel in downtown Dallas to the Hall of State in Fair Park. There we heard Michael Wade speak to us about the role of David Williams in reviving indigenous Texas architecture. Next, Avery McClung delivered a paper entitled "Thomas V. Munson: The East Texan who saved the French Wine Industry." Afterwards the Dallas Historical Society, in conjunction with the Departments of History, Literature, and Languages at East Texas State University, hosted our members to the "Tasting of the product saved by Thomas V. Munson."

Saturday morning found us assembled to hear a host of well prepared and presented papers. The early session included three papers: Eusibia Lutz spoke about La Reunion, the French utopian colony in Dallas County; Bill O'Neal shared the results of his research on the depression years in East Texas; and, David Robinson showed us informative slides concerning the historical aspects of the Old Dallas City Park.

During the second session of papers Association members heard William E. Sawyer talk about Martin Hart, a Civil War guerilla; Ken Durham discuss the 1919 race riot in Longview; and Light T. Cummins speak about his research on Beauford Jester and the controversy over the Texas tidelands. The third session of the Spring meeting, entitled "New Perspectives on Research and Local History," involved a large number of panelists who tackled interesting topics such as new uses of local sources for historical studies, how students from a Dallas high school researched the Pleasant Grove community, and how the street names in Nacogdoches, Sherman, Bonham and Hooks reflect local history.

Following these fine papers we adjourned to the banquet hall for good food and fellowship. President Ralph W. Steen presided. During the course of the luncheon we learned that Frank W. Smryl, Dean of Liberal Arts at Texas Eastern University, will serve as our president in 1980. Patricia A. Gajda will serve as program chairperson at the Tyler Spring meeting in 1980 and Vincent J. Falzone will serve in this capacity at the following Fall meeting in Nacogdoches. Following these announcements Dr. Steen extended a special "thank you" to Fred Tarpley and John Crain for making the local arrangements for us in Dallas.

A special treat was in store for us when it was announced that four of our members would receive the Ralph W. Steen Service Award. This award will be given each year to members who have given exceptional service to the Association and to the preservation of Eastern Texas History. Among those who received the award this year were: Mrs. Lera Thomas of Nacogdoches for her many architectural restorations as well as just being Lera; Dr. Robert C. Cotner of Austin for his faithful service to our organization; Mrs. Tommie Jan Lowery of Nacogdoches for spending long hours in service of ETHA as our Secretary-Treasurer; and, Mr. F. Lee Lawrence of Tyler for helping to found our Association and for presiding over us as our first president.

Following these awards, Dr. Steen introduced our luncheon speaker, Mr. Lonn Taylor, who spoke on "Home made Houses of East Texas." Besides presently writing a book on this topic, Lonn served several years as curator of the Winedale properties at Round Top, Texas. He also has co-authored an impressive book on Texas hand-crafted furniture of the nineteenth century. The light snow which fell on us as we departed the Spring meeting for 1979 could not chill the inter-warmth we gained by associating with one another.

Dick Owens of Wolf City recently informed the Association that East Texas will soon have its own bimonthly magazine called *The Backroads of East Texas. Backroads* hopes to keep its readers posted on the people, places, and history of our geographic region. The first issue will leave the presses in October and charter subscriptions cost only $5.00 for six issues. If you would like to subscribe, please send your check, name, and address to: Backroads, P.O. Drawer 9, Wolfe City, Texas 75496.

Maybe you already have a copy but in case you have not heard, Bob Bowman of Lufkin has recently published a fun little book entitled *The Best of East Texas*. If you would like to know the best junkyard, footbridge, Governor's grave, farkleberry tree, pickle recipe, or place to marry in East Texas then you need to read this book. It sells for $7.95 at your local bookstore.

The American Association for State and Local History sent us a technical leaflet entitled "Financing Your History Organization" by Laurence R. Pizer. In this brief tract, Pizer

informs his reader of several state and federal foundations and agencies pledged to the financial support of the study and preservation of local history. Should you or your organization desire to have this pamphlet, please write to the AASLH, 1400 Eighth Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee, 37203.

Two new national historical associations have announced their beginning. The first, The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, is for people interested specifically in U.S. history from 1789 to 1848. It will issue a quarterly bulletin and the cost of membership is $5.00 per year. If interested, please contact "The Society . . ." 408 State Library and Historical Building, 140 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, IN 46204. The second new historical organization is The Association for Documentary Editing. This group plans to encourage excellence among historians who edit historical papers and documents. Annual dues are $15.00 per year and correspondence should be sent to Ms. Charlene N. Biekford, First Federal Congress Project, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20052.

Dorman Winfrey, Director of the Texas State Library, informs us that four Texas organizations have received awards of merit from the American Association of State and Local History this year. Among these are the Heritage Society and the Franklin Savings Association both of Austin, the Dallas County Heritage Society, and the El Paso Library Association. Organizations, individuals, business institutions, and other groups are eligible for this award. Information about making nominations for the forthcoming year can be obtained from Millicent Huff, Texas State Library, Box 12927, Capitol Station, Austin, Texas 78711.

BOOK REVIEWS

Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture. By Terry G. Jordan. (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712), 1978. Photographs, Maps, Tables, Appendices, Notes, Bibliography, Index. p. 184. $15.95.

Terry Jordan, who teaches cultural geography at North Texas State University in Denton, has probably looked at more log buildings in the past five years than anyone else in the state. It was in 1973 that he established the Texas Log Cabin Survey at North Texas to collect information about our surviving log structures, and since then he and his students and informants have looked at, photographed, and measured nearly eight hundred of them. *Texas Log Buildings* reflects this massive, detailed field work, and at the same time is that rare bird: a book about architecture that is more than a picture book and is both scholarly and readable.

Dr. Jordan is one of a group of American cultural geographers who trace their intellectual heritage to the work done by Fred Kniffen at Louisiana State University in the late 1930s and early '40s and who are interested in house types and methods of construction as keys to understanding the cultural background of the builders. Log cabins, he argues, are keys to understanding the origins and cultural values of our own Texas ancestors, and are in fact frequently the only personal documents that the vast number of common, ordinary Texans left behind them. People whose main interest in life was making a cotton crop often did not keep diaries or write letters, but they did build their own houses, and those that survive can be read in the same way that a historian can read and analyze a personal letter. Jordan's book shows us how to read those buildings.

He concludes that Texas can be divided into five culture areas on the basis of the methods used by settlers in constructing log cabins: Lower Southern, Upper Southern, Western Anglo, German, and Swiss-Alsastian. His regional divisions are roughly congruent with those made by dialecticians and cultural anthropologists, but his evidence of a Swiss influence in the Alsastian houses in Medina County may come as a surprise to Texas ethonographers. It is definitely something that should be investigated further.

His conclusions are presented with the help of excellent photographs, charts, and maps, making this book a model regional study of folk architecture. Architectural historians might wish that the floorplans that were included showed a little more detail, such as number and placement of windows and direction of

doors, and fuller measurements, but one cannot have everything. Unlike many who write in this field, Jordan has made extensive use of documentary sources as well as field work, and his text makes a number of references to travellers' accounts and nineteenth-century descriptions of log buildings. The appendices include a list of Texas preservation projects where tourists can see log cabins, both moved and *in situ,* restored with varying degrees of accuracy (a note after one entry reads "two-single-pen log houses from different parts of Parker County moved together to make a fake dog-trot). Fortunately, he was spared the sight of a moved and "restored" double-pen cabin this reviewer recented encountered imprisoned behind a chain-link fence in the back yard of a Central Texas railroad station. He also calls our attention to a remarkable number of log structures still on their original sites, many of them still being lived in by the descendants of the builders. Some of these are incorporated into larger frame structures, but many have simply been covered with siding and are still leading a useful life more or less in their original form.

These surviving cabins are a valuable part of our heritage, not only for the sentiment that surrounds them, but as sources of information about our past. Too often, they have escaped the attention of local preservationists, who tend to be attracted to mansions or buildings which have associations with locally prominent people. The Texas Log Cabin Survey, which is housed at the North Texas State University Historical Collection, and *Texas Log Buildings* can provide each County Historical Commission in Texas with a list of structures which should be protected and maintained, so that our grandchildren will be able to see the same things in them that Dr. Jordan's book encourages us to see.

Incidentally, the Survey is by no means complete, and I am sure that Dr. Jordan will welcome additional submissions from interested readers.

Lonn Taylor
Dallas Historical Society

Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900. By Nicholas Perkins Hardeman. (The University of Tennessee Press, 293 Communications Building, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916), 1977. Maps, Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography, Index. p. 357. $14.95.

Wilderness Calling is the saga of five generations of the Thomas Hardeman family intertwined with the westward expansion of America from the Cumberland Gap to California.

The book is a "microcosm of the country's westering impulse, a sampling of the great human movement in its various dimensions." (p. 289). This unusual history of one family that played a major role in every advance of the American frontier was written by one of Thomas Hardeman's descendants, Nicholas Perkins Hardeman, professor of history at California State University, Long Beach.

The author concludes that a high percentage of Hardemans were frontiersmen because they "stressed frontiering." However, the Hardemans and Burnets (Burnetts), a branch of the family, were not ordinary frontiersmen although two were mountain men and three were trail drovers. Serving in the government of the Republic of Texas were David Burnet, interim president; Bailey Hardeman, secretary of treasury; and Thomas Jones Hardeman in the legislature. Peter Hardeman Burnett was Oregon's first supreme court judge and the first elected governor of California. Hardemans fought in every American war from the Revolutionary War through World War I, the Texas War of Independence, and several Indian campaigns. Members of the family were in both the Union and the Confederate armies.

Nicholas Hardeman's primary sources are family lore that has been handed down by generations of Hardemans and a wealth of family papers and documents dating from 1750, which he retrieved in 1962 from a trunk in his parent's home in Missouri. As a history professor of the American West, he searched many historical depositories to validate the family documents and for relative historical background which he has woven together with the family history into a narrative of the westward movement.

Wilderness Calling unfolds before the reader the westward migration of one family that is representative of the frontiering spirit of America. The author presents the pursuits of the various members of the family who went diverse ways without losing continuity of the story. The two chapters devoted to Texas are filled with historical incidents that occurred during the early period of Texas. However, a historian such as Nicholas Hardeman should have done further research on the Texas Rangers with General Taylor in northern Mexico. Unfortunately, he relied on Ranger William Hardeman's account though it is natural for a participant in an event to gloss over the unfavorable aspects. In *The Texas Rangers*, Walter Prescott Webb gives the lawless and vindictive side of the Rangers as well as their scouting and fighting abilities. Yet, Professor Hardeman presents a very descriptive account of the Taylor expedition during the Mexican War. The book is a colorful story of frontier history as it was made by one family.

Billie B. Kemper
San Antonio, Texas

The Treasures of Galveston Bay. By Carroll Lewis. (Texian Press, P.O. Box 1684, Waco, Texas 76703), 1977. Illustrations, Sources, Index. p. 135. $7.95.

The Eyes of Texas Travel Guide: Gulf Coast Edition. By Ray Miller. Cordovan Corporation, 5314 Bingle, Houston, Texas), 1977. Maps, Illustrations, Index. p. 202.

Carroll Lewis has written a very interesting book concerning the treasures of the Galveston Bay area. Beginning with a very general view of the types of treasure to be found, Mr. Lewis continues by giving the location and background of a number of alleged treasure sites. He has even gone one step further in many cases by providing a map or photograph showing the possible present location of the fortune.

The real value of the book, however, lies in the wealth of anecdotes and stories concerning both famous and infamous figures of Texas history. Chock full of stories about Jean Lafitte, his pirates, Santa Anna, and other figures, the book does an excellent job of whetting the appetite of the fortune-seeker. Mr. Lewis has collected an enormous amount of material in seeking out the background and sites of this wealth.

The book is beautifully illustrated with drawings, treasure maps (both old and new), photographs, and replicas of documents. Although unimportant in themselves, these prints serve as a very useful aid to understanding the text. Probably the most interesting prints are those that deal with the pirate Lafitte's letters.

Mr. Lewis' purpose seems to be to provide the reader with a basic book of material with which to seek his own treasure. Armed with this work and a shovel, the reader could quite conceivably find his fortune in the Galveston Bay area. While I cannot guarantee that everyone that reads this book will find his fortune, I can guarantee that he will be delightfully entertained and enlightened. Presented in a most readable style, the *Treasures of Galveston Bay* presents an adventure that could thrill virtually anyone. As Mr. Lewis says, the book is "dedicated to all those who enjoy glimpses of the past while searching for the lost treasures of history." The author has gone a very long way towards achieving his aim. I would recommend this book not only to the scholar, but also to the reader interested in good stories and folklore.

Anyone reading Carroll Lewis' book must realize the necessity of having a good geographical guide to supplement the

rough descriptions given. Ray Miller's *The Eyes of Texas Travel Guide* provides just that. Compiled and produced by the news department of KPRC-TV of Houston, the work is part of a series that was aired as the "Eyes of Texas".

The main purpose of the work, as pointed out in the introduction, is to provide a guide to those points of interest that could be visited in a short period of time. The content of the book is divided into six sections: The Atascosito District and Sabine Pass, The Houston-Galveston Area, The Middle Coast, The Corpus Christi Area, The Lower Coast, and Lighthouses of the Coast. Each section, except the last one, is then subdivided by counties.

Each chapter of the volume begins with a travel map and a brief history of the area. The chapter then contains a short narrative on the background of each individual county and an enormous amount of photographs showing important points of interest. Each photograph is accompanied by a brief reference note. The last chapter on lighthouses is somewhat different. Beginning with a map of the lighthouse locations, a brief history of each lighthouse follows, along with a picture of all those left in existence.

Although every point of interest has not been included, the book contains a wealth of information and is a worthy companion not only to Lewis' work, but to anyone desiring to tour the Gulf Coast area of Texas. The presentation of the material is in a logical and readable style and this reviewer can find no fault in the book other than suggesting that a map locating the points of interest in the book could have been included to help the unfamiliar tourist in his travels. Other than this minor fault, the book is a useful tool for everyone.

David Allnutt
Galveston, Texas

A Loose Herd of Texans. By Bill Porterfield. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, Texas 77843), 1978. p. 198. $10.00.

I never heard of Bill Porterfield until recently, primarily because I have been a refugee from Texas since 1945. But after reading this collection of his writings I would like to know more about him. According to the dust jacket, the author has had a varied career as a reporter, magazine writer, and television commentator and producer. Obviously, he has seen a lot of life from both sides of the tracks and he knows how to transmit his observations and experiences into words reminiscent of an O'Henry or J. Frank Dobie.

A Loose Herd of Texans is a very appropriate title for the author's third book. It has no theme other than the fact that the assorted characters, tall tales, and short stories are drawn from what Porterfield describes as a mythical place called Texas. Each of the twenty-four pieces were originally published in regional newspapers and magazines during the late 1960s and mid-1970s. Some of the stories, particularly the one about the "Stone That Cried Like a Child," belong to the category of folklore. Others, such as the profiles of outsize personalities like Lyndon Johnson, H.L. Hunt, and Amon G. Carter are especially fascinating.

It would be difficult for the objective reader to draw any conclusion about Amon G. Carter other than the fact that he represented both the best and the worst thing that ever happened to Fort Worth. Also, that the funerals of H.L. Hunt and Lyndon Johnson, which the author attended, were supreme examples of bad taste. The Reverend W.A. Criswell, pastor of the largest Baptist Church in the world described Hunt as "a man too big for one life, a living giant with a gentle touch . . . a man wise as Solomon, a worthy, noble father" whom he often referred to as "Mr. Golden Heart." (p. 147). One of Dr. Criswell's assistant pastors then said a prayer for the deceased and used the occasion to invite any of the Hunts present who had not accepted Christ to do so. None responded.

Lyndon Johnson's funeral came off in slightly better style, thanks in part to the dignity and character of Lady Bird and her two daughters. Thanks also to that giant among Texans, John Connally, who delivered the eulogy, Anita Bryant, who "sang magnificently," (p. 195), and world renown theologian, Dr. Billy Graham, who conferred briefly with God. In all, it was the kind of drizzly day "that gives grave diggers a bailing-out fit." (p. 187)

W. Eugene Hollon
Santa Fe, New Mexico

The Poet President of Texas. By Stanley Siegel. Jenkins Publishing Company, Box 2085, Austin, Texas 78768), 1977. Notes, Bibliography, Index. p. 176. $9.50.

The book gives the biography of Mirabeau B. Lamar. The author's aim was to stress Lamar's contributions to the establishment of the Republic of Texas.

Lamar was born on August 16, 1798, near Louisville in Georgia. Lamar was of French descent, and he was the son of a planter, John Lamar. Mirabeau Lamar's educational progress, according to the author, was impeded by lack of finance and the general lack of purpose in his early life. He tried bookkeeping, journalism and politics in Georgia. But it was all a failure.

Disappointed in Georgia, Lamar left for Texas in July 1835. In April 1836 he joined Texas' Revolutionary Army as a private. He gained distinction in the army and when Texas became independent, he was elected Vice-President in September 1836 and President in 1838. Lamar's major contributions to Texas were the expulsion of the Cherokee Indians from the choice land of East Texas, the founding of the State Capitol at Austin, and the Homestead Act of 1839.

Lamar's presidency marked the zenith of his political achievements. His last few years were a catalogue of political and diplomatic failures, and of his increasing personal financial problems. On December 19, 1859 Lamar died.

The materials in the book are well organized. The author has tried to avoid the repetition and the scattering of facts, the technique some authors use to enlarge the volumes of their books. The author has bibliographic sources and authentic records to support his work. It is obvious that the author has achieved his purpose in furnishing the biography of Lamar, with emphasis on his contributions to Texas.

Paulinus O. Effiong
Oblo, Nigeria

From Chalk to Bronze. By Alice Hutson. (Shoal Creek Publishers, Inc., P.O. Box 9737, Austin, Texas 78766), 1978. Photographs, Appendix, Index. p. 172. $15.00.

Alice Hutson has produced a very interesting and readable biography about a fascinating woman, Texas sculptor Waldine Tauch. During her career, Dr. Tauch has executed hundreds of public and private commissions for statues, portrait busts, bas-reliefs, public monuments and heroic sized bronzes such as the "Douglas MacArthur" in Brownwood and the "Texas Ranger of Today" which stood for many years at Love Field in Dallas.

Waldine Tauch was born in 1892 in Schulenburg and grew up in Flatonia and Brady. At an early age she began to carve and model in clay. By the time she graduated from high school, her ambition was to become a sculptor, not the usual desire of a small town Texas girl in the early part of the 20th century.

With financial assistance and encouragement from the Brady Tuesday Club, Waldine went to San Antonio to study with Pompeo Coppini, a well-known Italian-immigrant sculptor whose works include the Littlefield Fountain at the University of Texas in Austin. Coppini thought that women did not make good pupils and extracted from Waldine a promise not to ever marry but to devote herself to her art.

The main focus of Alice Hutson's book is on Waldine Tauch's development as a sculptor and on her complex and rewarding relationship with Coppini who was her teacher, critic, co-worker and foster father. The book contains fifty photographs of Waldine and her art and her major sculptures listed by city. The book is interesting and readable and is recommended for anyone interested in reading about an uncommon Texas woman who never succumbed to society's pressures and ideas but remained true to her own talent and vision.

Janet Jelen
Plainview, Texas

The Cowgirls. By Joyce Gibson Roach. (Cordovan Corporation, 5314 Bingle, Houston, Texas), 1977. Footnotes, Illustrations. p. 236.

The apparent simplicity of the title *The Cowgirls* belies the significance of Joyce Gibson Roach's well-researched work. A trained folklorist, she rides herd on the subject "the woman on horseback," deftly reining the cowgirls through Indian country, ranch, cattle trail, wild west show, rodeo, dime novel, and celluloid stereotype. Woman or girl, the subject of this "cowgirl" is as vast as the international scene on which the enduring American heroine still ranges via the mass media. As the author herself says, "The cowgirl in all her roles from the frontier to the footlights is what this book is all about."

For the past two or three decades, serious Western studies have all but stampeded through our presses. Roach has analyzed these and earlier publications, bringing together in *The Cowgirls* an invaluable new sourcebook for women's studies. She has also drawn from unpublished sources, including her own knowledge of ranch life and personal interviews and correspondence. The book demonstrates through myriad, verifiable examples, illustrations, and anecdotes the often colorful contributions made by individual women in the settling and the taming of the American West.

Other frontier women have not quite made it as heroines, according to Roach; ". . . the life of the farm wife was not heroic, — just miserable." On the Plains, especially after the Civil War "with the last traces of the Southern Camelot . . . kicked over," the cattle-frontier heroine "had to make her own rules but she was not obliged to force others to live by them." "When the female mounted a good cowhorse, . . . she realized how different and fine the view was." Like the *vaqueros* and the American cowboy, as well as mounted Indians of both sexes, the "cowgirl" would discover that to be mounted and armed was to have found a great

equalizing force. Moreover, it was to have discovered a heightened sense of individual indentity which the independence of action afforded her.

The book is a veritable compendium of American female ranch personalities and the lore their careers have engendered. When the myths are removed, the portable cowgirl heroine remains. She is the American individual. This individual comprises a rich matrix of human potentialities and aspirations which exist in human experience irrespective of sex.

Ouida L. Dean
Nacogdoches, Texas

Cowhand: The Story of a Working Cowboy. By Fred Gipson. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, Texas 77843), 1977. p. 216. $7.95.

It is to be lamented that Fred Gipson had not had the training necessary for one who sets about the writing of biography. For *Cowboy* is a biography told through anecdote, without pretense of connection.

It is that lack of connection which leaves the story of Fat Alford's story hollow, and without much meaning. Gipson wrote that Alford had a zest for meeting life head-on, and winning. What comes across is a man who did not understand the world into which he was born, and never really tried. Perhaps that stems from Gipson's own fascination with a west he never knew but for which he had a romantic longing. He apparently tried to transfer his own notion onto a twentieth century saddle-bum who had no real, abiding ambition to be much else.

The anecdotes upon which he built his book lack punch, possibly because he tried to emulate Louis L'Amour and lacked the talent. His language smacks of a lingo seldom if ever heard in the vocabulary of most real cowhands. It is as far from the real thing as the parade dress of the rodeo, or the trappings of the Rose Parade equestrian units from the gear of a working cowhand.

I have known cowhands from the era he writes of, a few from an earlier period, and have worked my share of cattle; I have "stomped" a few broncs. This book does not reflect their, or my life.

Ert J. Gum
University of Nebraska at Omaha

The Texas Rangers: Their First 150 Years. By John L. Davis. (Institute of Texan Cultures, 600 Hemisfair Plaza Way, San Antonio, Texas 78200), 1975. p. 114.

Public fascination with the Texas Rangers is a phenomenon

of long-standing, both within and outside of the borders of Texas. Originally a frontier regiment, and later a law enforcement group, the Rangers have been featured in novels, pulp magazines, radio, television, and the movies. A serious study came in 1935 when Professor Walter P. Webb published his scholarly work on the famed organization.

This slim volume, published by the Institute of Texan Cultures, is not intended to replace or to supplant Professor Webb's study, which may very well remain the standard work on the Rangers for many years to come. Indeed, there is relatively little new in this publication. The materials are a summary of pictures and texts originally compiled to accompany the Institute's Texas Ranger exhibits.

It is attitude, rather than content, that makes this book distinctively a break with the past. There is much more emphasis on the cultural and ethnic diversity of the men who have formed the membership of the Rangers over the years. Most noticeably, Anglo-Mexican conflict, especially in border areas, is presented in a version more sympathetic to the Mexican people than that given in earlier studies.

Although not a typical "coffee table picture book," the volume is liberally sprinkled with pictures, anecdotes, and interesting tidbits that make it appealing to the casual reader. More serious students will probably want to look further.

Adrian Anderson
Lamar University

Sangers': Pioneer Texas Merchants. By Leon Joseph Rosenberg. (Texas State Historical Association, Sid Richardson Hall, 2.306, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712). 1978. Photographs, Index. p. 135. $12.95.

For over a century in national mercantile circles, the name "Sanger Bros." meant the highest standard in retail specialty store operation. This book tells how that accolade was well earned by tracing the immigration of the seven Sanger brothers, German Jews from Bavaria, to this country beginning in the 1850s and their eventual settlement in Texas. They began retail operations as railroad merchants, establishing stores following the post-Civil War railroad expansion into central Texas and eventually founded permanent stores in Waco, Dallas, and Fort Worth. The brothers prospered because they not only offered quality goods at reasonable prices with convenient credit terms but also because they pioneered with marketing techniques utilizing widespread newspaper advertising. Active in philanthropic and civic endeavors, the Sangers also became

prominent leaders in their communities; three of them served in Confederate armies.

The Sangers prospered until the last brother died in 1925. This loss of leadership, coupled with the business slump of that period, compelled the family to sell the retail business to a St. Louis firm, which continued to operate the stores under the Sanger name. These stores, in turn, were purchased in 1951 by a national chain, Federated Department Stores, which combined the Sanger operations in 1961 with Dallas-based A. Harris and Company. That retail operation in 1978 operated a dozen stores in the Dallas-Fort Worth area.

The author, a professor of marketing at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, concludes his study with an analysis of the Sangers' decline. Their major shortcoming was the failure to prepare the second generation to assume the vacant rungs of leadership left by the demise of the founding fathers - a problem, as the author further points out, that other prominent Jewish-American mercantile families usually gave the highest priority to solving. While the author does not explain to the reader's satisfaction this perplexing and intriguing failure, the work is still a very interesting study of pioneering in 19th century Texas marketing techniques.

John O. King
University of Houston

Through Time and the Valley. By John R. Erickson. (Shoal Creek Publishers, Inc., P.O. Box 9737, Austin, Texas 78766), 1978. Illustrations, Appendix, Notes, Bibliography, Index. p. 185. $12.50.

Evidently taking his inspiration from John Graves' *Goodbye to a River,* John R. Erickson attempts to do for his personal stretch of the Canadian what Graves did for a comparable stretch of the Brazos.

In June and July of 1972, Erickson, accompanied by his photographer friend, Bill Ellzey, travelled the Canadian Valley on horseback from the old town of Plemons, in Hutchinson County, eastward through Roberts and Hemphill counties to the Oklahoma line—a trip covering roughly one-third of the length of the Canadian in Texas. Erickson kept the notes which provide the basic structure of the book and Ellzey took the photographs which became its effective illustrations.

Erickson intersperses his brief description of the journey, which was dominated by heat, deer flies, and the rich hospitality of the ranch folk who live along the river, with lengthier accounts of Canadian River legend and lore and occasional excursions into

history which are the least successful aspects of the book as one might expect from its puzzlingly meager bibliography.

The eastern third of the Canadian River Valley in the Texas Panhandle probably has had as full a complement of "colorful characters" as any segment of country with a similar historical experience and Erickson has gathered its folk traditions mainly through seeking out and listening to the people of the Valley. His homework is done well and his product is good, although the long-term significance of the book may be the author's descriptions of the contemporary residents of the Canadian River Valley, who, despite the depersonalizing influences of an urban, industrialized Twentieth Century, retain something of the life style, values, and civility common to an earlier age in which people had time for an honest interest in their fellow human beings.

Erickson observes in a prefatory note that a single work is hardly equal to the subject. He is undoubtlessly right, but his first book is a good start in capturing the traditions of a captivating albeit relatively little known Texas environment.

Frederick W. Rathjen
West Texas State University

Speak, Mr. Speaker. By H.G. Dulaney, E.H. Phillips and MacPhelan Reese, eds. (The Sam Rayburn Foundation, P.O. Box 309, Bonham, Texas 75418), 1978. Photographs, quotations, index. p. 489. $12.50.

Among the most difficult figures of recent political history to describe is Sam Rayburn, the longest serving Speaker of the House of Representatives. In one sense he was a common man: he came from a poor rural family; he provided for his own college and legal training; he had simple tastes and shunned the life of a sophisticate. "I just missed being a tenant farmer," he would say, "by a gnat's whisker." But Rayburn was also an extraordinary person and demonstrated his talents in politics. Known as "Mr. Democrat," he was confidant to several Presidents, and seventeen years after his death he was selected by Congressional staffers as the most effective member of the House. Biographers face a monumental task in explaining the dual nature of Rayburn's personality: his homespun qualities and the greatness of his political talent.

Among the biographies written on Rayburn, *Speak, Mr. Speaker* comes closest in this respect. The nature of the book explains this achievement, for it is a compilation of Rayburn's speeches, correspondence, short statements and quotes. Editorial comments were kept to a minimum because the authors,

as indicated by the title, chose to let their subject speak for himself.

Focusing on Rayburn's years as Speaker, the study provides examples of his views on numerous topics, but the excerpts tend to be philosophical and reflect on the personal characteristics of "Mr. Sam," not the specifics of particular events. The chapter entitled "Johnson and Kennedy," which deals with the 1960 campaign, furnishes Rayburn's homespun thoughts on the Catholic issue, Kennedy's capacity as a leader, the Kennedy-Nixon debates and similar topics. On the selection of Johnson as Kennedy's running mate, Rayburn wrote: "Lyndon Johnson received the next most votes . . . and Kennedy next morning came to his room and asked him to run on the ticket with him." On Kennedy's religion: "I am a hardshell Baptist. But if no one gets to Heaven but us Baptists, it'll be a mighty lonely place."

Details on critical matters are not available because of the nature of the Rayburn papers, but important insights about Rayburn are easily observed. His love of the "dirt farmer" and working man served as his political principle. Whenever possible he worked for a compromise. To illustrate his position on government intervention, the authors used a touch of Rayburnism: "As you do not break a horse's leg to keep it from straying for the night, so big business ought to be regulated but not destroyed." Among his friends and enemies Rayburn was known as an honest man. His refusal to accept honorariums appears out of place in today's politics.

The success of the authors in capturing Rayburn's inner feelings comes from the advantage of knowing and working for him. To be sure, a sense of adulation is evident, but their acquaintance enabled them to see the man and grasp his blend of the simple and complex. Thus, the chief contribution of the work is the author's grasp of Rayburn as a "man of the soil." They have avoided the cold detached quality of scholarly studies and written about Rayburn's soul. To understand one of America's political legends, therefore, students will have to review *Speak, Mr. Speaker*. And the inclusion of a detailed index adds to the value of the work as a reference.

D. Clayton Brown
Texas Christian University

Our Ewing Family. By Laura Dingle Ewing. (Spindletop Museum, Lamar University, Box 10082, Beaumont, Texas 77710), 1978. Illustrations, photographs, acknowledgments, charts, maps, index. p. 503.

This family history is the first in the series of the *Nancy*

Nixon Tevis Series of History and Genealogy published by Spindletop Museum. This volume is the result of ten years' research which is evident by the excellent documentation.

This volume is divided into two sections; the first is family history and genealogy and the second is documentary proof. It contains much family information on the *Ewing, Dingle, Roddie, Ball and DeSoto Families.* A number of excellent pictures, old and new, are included to make this book a treasure. There are 250 pages of facsimile copies of Bible records, inventories, newspaper clippings, guardian accounts, probate records, military records, indenture records and land records to fully document the genealogy which is given in the first section of the book.

This book is not strictly a genealogy, but combines family history and biography, with genealogy. The volume begins with the origin of the *Ewing* clan and the *Ewing* name. Several Coats of Arms of the *Ewing* family are illustrated.

James Leeper Ewing came to Nacogdoches County by December 1843 and he leaves many descendants in this area of East Texas. This book is an excellent tribute to the *Ewing* family and Spindletop is to be commended for selecting this volume to be the first of the *Nancy Nixon Tevis Series.*

Carolyn Ericson, Curator
Stone Fort Museum

The Western Territories in the Civil War. By LeRoy H. Fischer. (Journal of the West, Box 1009, Manhattan, Kansas 66502), 1977. Maps, Illustrations, Notes, Index. p. 120. $6.00.

While the Civil War remains the most written-about topic in American history, focus on the western theater of war has not kept pace. The absence of epic battles on the level of a Gettysburg or Antietam partially explain this neglect, but the major reason for this narrow view rests upon historians' tendency to relate western history outside the mainstream of national events. Utilizing a series of recent graduate seminars at Oklahoma State University, Professor LeRoy H. Fischer has attempted to correct the oversight by directing student research into this fertile area. Two previous topical issues of *Journal of the West,* entitled "The Civil War Era in Indian Territory" and "The Western States in the Civil War," presented the results of earlier seminars. A similarly conceived project on the western territories appeared in the April, 1977 issue of the same journal and has now been reprinted in softbound format for sales to a larger audience.

Because each chapter of this brief book stands as a separate entity, there are no transitions to link the various components.

There is, however, a general level of consistency in style and methodology which insures readability and a minimum of repetition. Documentation rests upon the 128-volume *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* some territorial newspapers, and a variety of secondary sources. Thus, while nothing new is revealed in these studies, they do relate their stories well and help draw public attention to a neglected phase of American history. Persons seeking a detailed synthesis of the subject will be better served by Ray Colton's *The Civil War in the Western Territories* and Robert Jones' *The Civil War in the Northwest,* but they should not overlook this new source which focuses upon the political and economic developments of the territories during wartime.

Michael L. Tate
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Four Brothers in Blue. By Robert Goldthwaite Carter. (The University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, Texas, 78712), 1913; reprinted 1978. Original letters, index. p. 537. $15.00.

Texas military-historians know 4th Cavalryman Robert Carter as chronicler of Mackenzie's Indian campaigns. Carter and brother Walter also fought in the Civil War (22nd Massachusetts, August, 1862-October, 1864). Their other two brothers served, too: John, 1st Massachusetts Heavies (1861-1865), and Eugene, 8th U.S. (1861-1863). These "Four Brothers in Blue" wrote numerous wartime letters. Robert published many in limited run in 1913. This volume is now reprinted in a deservedly larger edition.

Although only West-Pointer Eugene was commissioned, all four were intelligent and literate. "The boys who served in the ranks during the Civil War," reflected Robert (pp. 272-73), "although perhaps obscure . . . were, nevertheless, the flower of the land. Bright, intelligent and right from the schools, colleges, stores, workshops and offices, they were very *close observers,* and what they saw and heard they jotted down in diaries and letters home. Many of these memorandums form . . . the most valuable of all data upon which to found the future historians' account of that year."

The Carter letters particularly deserve such praise. They vividly convey soldier life, attitudes, and experiences. They reveal Regular Eugene, solicitous, grumbling, McClellanistic; garrison-soldier John, thirsting for action and finally getting it; and underage Robert, rebellious and anti-authoritarian. But primarily they depict Walter's rise from recruit to sergeant-major

and from boyhood to manhood. Brave, noble, moral, patriotic, oft-tried and ever faithful, he is the hero of this volume.

The brothers thus appear in their correspondence. To it, Robert added informative postwar narrative. Unfortunately, his commentary sometimes merely paraphrased letters or needlessly recounted whole battles. His editing is also disappointing. Such excellent letters deserve printing in entirety, not just in an often fragmentary selection. Most concern field service, especially Walter's. Less exciting but still important tours like John's garrison duty and Eugene's and Robert's home-front assignments after July, 1863, are regrettably slighted or omitted.

Other original shortcomings are factual and typographical errors. Deplorably, John Carroll left these in the re-issue, provided no annotation, and contented himself with preparing a primitive proto-index.

Nonetheless, the letters themselves - and Frank Vandiver's felicitous foreword - are so good that the book is a must for Civil War scholars and buffs.

Richard J. Sommers
U.S. Army Military
History Institute

Walter Hines Page, The Southerner as American, 1855-1918. By John Milton Cooper Jr. (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 27514), 1977. Notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. p. 457. $15.95.

Walter Hines Page, the subject of this impressive biography by Professor John Milton Cooper, Jr., of the University of Wisconsin, is best remembered for his four-year stint as American Ambassador to Great Britain during World War I. Yet, as Professor Cooper so adroitly demonstrates, this episode in Page's long career was the most unpleasant for him personally and the least productive part of his life, even though it was both momentous in its consequences and well-publicized. Certainly Page would not have become as well known then or now had he not served a frustrating tenure as ambassador to the Court of St. James.

To Cooper, Page symbolized the dilemma of the post Civil War South when circumstances forced Southerners to chart a new course for their section. Like so many other intelligent and sensitive Southerners, Page realized that the South could not live on its past laurels and that it must adjust to a rapidly changing world. As a result, he championed the idea of a New South, but unlike Henry Grady of Atlanta he did not favor embracing Northern ways totally and uncritically since giant factories and

urban squalor were repulsive to his nature. Consequently, he sought to preserve the best of Southern traits and urged his fellow Southerners to be selective in their adoption of Yankee ways.

As Professor Cooper explains, Walter Hines Page was driven by contradictory impulses. He possessed a love-hate attitude toward his native South in which he tried alternately to change her ways and to defend her against outside critics. He retained a fascination about and an appreciation of black Southerners, yet he never lost his racial prejudices and was responsible for publishing the work of Thomas Dixon, one of the worst bigots of the period.

In his personal life Page was motivated by conflicting goals. He aspired to be creative and to wield social influence; yet he also craved financial success. By becoming a publisher Page was able to accomplish both goals even though he never acquired the financial independence he would have liked, but he did wield considerable influence as editor of *Forum* and *Atlantic Monthly*, as publisher of *World's Work*, and as a member of the Southern Education Board where he was able to make some improvements in Southern education.

Cooper has written a definitive biography of an important Southerner whose accomplishments have largely gone unrecognized. The author's research is impeccable, and his writing style is lively and easy to read. My only complaint is that Cooper goes into more detail than is necessary — especially in describing Page's years in England where, by the author's own admission, his influence was negligible. A shorter and more succinct study would have sufficed.

Robert V. Haynes
University of Houston

Frederic Remington and the West. By Ben Merchant Vorpahl. (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, Texas, 78712), 1978. Photographs, Index. p. 294. $15.95.

Western artist Frederic Remington died in 1909 at the age of forty-eight, a disappointed man. He longed to be included within the "Immortal Band" of great artists of his day, but his ecclectism, his search for direction, and his disillusionment with the New West vitally affected his work and robbed him of greatness. This is a theme analyzed with sensitivity by Ben Merchant Vorpahl in his *Frederic Remington and the West.* Vorpahl argues that Remington was not a Western artist, but an illustrator who used the West in many ways: as an escape from frustrations, as a commodity for sale, and finally as a symbol of the passing of an era. Remington defined the West as a condition,

and his work reflected his feelings toward that condition. Vorpahl studies Remington's graphic, literary, and sculptural productions and discusses how they mirrored his evolution as an artist and writer. The result is a refreshing analysis of Remington the man, his West, and what made him tick.

The author structures his book like a biography. Early chapters detail Remington's preoccupation with martial themes, a preoccupation influenced by his father's Civil War experiences, a personal attraction to the energetic life, and sojourns with the army in the Southwest. His response found expression in highly kinetic illustrations for *Harper's* and other magazines which proved timely and remunerative. But times changed, and, as later chapters show, Remington shifted away from martial subjects. Shaken by the role of the army at Wounded Knee, he sought new fields and new subjects. Further disillusionment came with army involvement in the Chicago Strike of 1894 and his visit during the Spanish American War to the battlefields in Cuba. Remington turned back to the West he knew—the West of the 1880s—and focused on the cowboy, attempting to bring the past into the present. With each piece of art he became increasingly identified with the earlier epoch, and, as he wrote about and portrayed its passing, he projected his own demise. Thus Remington's response to the West was a personal adventure by a man in search of his destiny.

The book has certain weaknesses. Geronimo surrendered to Gatewood in the Torres Mountains in Mexico, instead of inside Arizona, as intimated on p. 65. The references to Remington's racism, populism and isolationism deserve a fuller exposition. In places the author's prose is confusing, (i.e., p. 88). Many paragraphs are long and tedious. Footnotes are sprinkled up and down the page margins, making reference checking difficult. Although the author does not include a picture of his subject, he presents thirty-two plates that mirror various stages and aspects of Remington's work. Students of Western art will find Vorpahl's book stimulating, but the average *aficionado* of Remington will pronounce the discussion highly subjective, difficult to understand, and bordering on a psycho-biography.

Harwood P. Hinton
University of Arizona

The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture. By Glen R. Conrad. (The Center for Louisiana Studies, P.O. Box 4-0831, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, Louisiana 70504), 1978. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index. p. 432. $17.00.

The Cajuns covers the period of the seventeenth to the

twentieth century and reveals the social and cultural history of the Cajuns in Nova Scotia, and in the "bayou Country" of Louisiana. The work is designed to inform the world that the Cajuns are in the vanguard of life and have specific emphasis in international matters. Describing the Cajun lifestyle of total involvement, the book reveals the cultural changes that have marked the growth and assimilation of the Cajuns in the world society.

The authors have done careful research in France, Santo Domingo, Canada and the United States to bring together an authoritative account of the Cajuns' history. This well documented work will be useful to scholars who desire material concerning Acadia and the Cajuns.

The twelve essayists discuss the life of the Cajuns and pinpoint the changes in education, cultural folkways and politics that have adapted to the cosmopolitan world society. The essays are filled with detailed accounts concerning the Cajuns. Conrad desired to show the importance of the Cajuns in the United States, and he succeeds in supporting his thesis that the Cajuns are in the vanguard of society. Though the essayists take the reader through meticulous information, they keep a fresh awareness present to spur the reader to learning more about the twentieth century Cajuns. Containing folklore, voting graphs, and general information that is unavailable except through detailed research, Conrad presents highly informative knowledge of the influence of the Cajuns in our present society.

The material was organized in a narrative fashion which helped the reader gain a time-perspective of the advent of the Cajuns in the world scene. With a complicated subject to present to a world which knows little about the Acadians, the essayists provided the public with a thorough account of the history and influence of the Cajuns in the twentieth century society.

John M. McIntyre
Hughes Springs, Texas

Long Journey Home: Folklife in the South. Allen Tullos, ed. Chapel Hill, N.C. (*Southern Exposure*, P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514), 1977. p. 224. $4.50.

Folklore and Fakelore. Richard M. Dorson. Cambridge, Massachusetts (Harvard University Press), 1976. p. 391.

Long Journey Home is a special folklife issue edited by Allen Tullos and published by *Southern Exposure*, a quality journal on Southern culture and politics. The book is beautiful and it is a bargain in an 8½ x 11" paperback at $4.50. Good layout by Mary Margaret Wade made the most of both contemporary and

old-time pictures, as well as poetry. The extras on this book include a fine critical review by W.K. McNeil, "Southern Folk Music on Records," an interpretive discussion of Southern "Centers, Schools, Libraries and Archives" that deal with folklore, a good bibliography, and a review section of books on Southern culture. *Long Journey Home* is a good beginning for someone who wants to see what Southern folklife includes.

Of course, one book cannot cover everything, but the editorial selection of articles for *Long Journey Home* discusses topics of significance: religion, music, crafts, sports, occupations, ethnic groups. It is a good start. Buell Cobb's "Fasola Folk: Sacred Harp Singing" fits in well with Brett Sutton's article on Primitive Baptists, Sacred Harp's main singers. Music chapters start with old-time string bands, work through blues and Dixie Rock to modern Cajun stomps and zydeco. Pat Mullen brings Texas into the Southern exposure with an article on tale tellers among fishermen on the Texas Gulf Coast.

Long Journey Home has a slight clinically antiseptic tone that is usually found in the academic approach to folklore, but the richness and wealth of material compensates for that.

Richard Dorson's *Folklore and Fakelore* is definitely a book for academicians in folklore. It is a good book for folklorists. Dorson is very readable, and he covers most of the problems of the scientific study of folklore in a logical and interesting way.

Dorson opens the collection of essays with his well-worn attack on fakelore, a field he claims to have pioneered and a term that he is very proud to have coined. Fakelore consists of those artsy-craftsy-cutesy tales that journalists have foisted on the public as grass-roots folklore—the tales of Paul Bunyan, Stormalong, and Pecos Bill, for example. Dorson has done well to identify these imposters, but he wears his academic Ralph Nader suit too pompously and self-righteously and sometimes becomes a bore.

The body of the book consists of essays on various facets of folklore that Dorson has been involved with—Celtic folklore, philosophical essays on oral literature, history and folklore, and a conclusive chapter where he illustrates his folklore-fakelore with essays on John Henry and Paul Bunyan.

Folklore and Fakelore is a "best of Dorson" anthology which supposedly will shore up his reputation against the ravages of time and taste.

Francis Edward Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin
State University

Book Notes

Calendar art buffs and Texas historians and folklorists now have a mutual interest focus: The Callcott-Collinson Calendar. Callcott-Collinson has issued a most interesting document to mark the passage of the year. The practical uses of the item, are, obviously, to help the forgetful stay on pace with payday and other meaningful dates. One would expect a calendar to do at least that much. But this one does so much more. Each date is captioned to remind the user of some meaningful anniversary from Texas history and in the absence of an Alamo or Inauguration, just some interesting tidbit is provided. The fold back pages use photographs from the W.D. Smithers Collection and the Austin-Travis County Collection to "picture" something appropriate from Texas history. My favorite is from March. It is a 1917 photo of the Alamo, which shows an automobile agency jammed up against the south wall, and that grand oak in the plaza is just a sappling. Old photos are fun, and this calendar is too. Best of all, it is only the first of a promised series of calendars which will feature the same kinds of things in future years. This calendar was compiled by the staff of the Stevenson Press, and is available at 1214 West 5th Street, P.O. Box 10021, Austin, Texas 78766. The price is $4.95 (5% tax for Texas residents).

Malcom McLean's *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony* rolls on. At hand is Volume V of his major work, which covers the period from October 11, 1830 through March 5, 1831. This volume contains the official documents leading up to the establishment of the Austin and Williams contract, the largest of the forty colonization enterprises undertaken while Texas was still a part of Mexico. Many of these documents are made available here in English translation for the first time. This volume brings a few surprises: it shows a more kindly treatment of Indians by Mexicans than had been thought, suggests that Mexican officers were deeply involved in smuggling activities, that Robertson and Alexander Thomson cut a road around Nacogdoches at night because they had no valid passports with which to pass legally through the town, and finally, that Stephen F. Austin was not above printing bogus certificates for his immigrants. These documents again seem to reveal Austin as much more interested in personal gain than is usually assumed. The volume may be ordered from The University of Texas at Arlington Press, UTA Box 19929, Arlington, Texas 76019 for $25. The book contains a bibliography and an index, and is Volume V of a continuing series.

Why Stop? is the kind of book you always wish for as you speed by historical markers at seventy-fi . . . er, fifty-five miles per hour. You always mean to stop and see what event or happenstance occurred there, but you never have the time. *Why Stop?*, compiled by Claude W. Dooley, is the answer. It is an encyclopedia of some 2,850 markers located along Texas' federal and state highways. Over 6,000 such markers have been erected over the state, but no attempt is made to include them all. Many are not really accessable by motor car, and this volume is oriented to the motoring public. It is easy to use. Texas towns are listed alphabetically, then each marker is listed under the town reference, complete with distance from the community. Then the inscription on the marker is reproduced. There is also an index. The book may be ordered from Lone Star Legends, P.O. Box 1646, Odessa, Texas 79760 for $8.95, which includes handling and tax.

A number of years ago, before she moved to West Texas, Madeline Martin compiled Thomas Wilson's recollections under the title *Some Early Southeast Texas Families*. The book was published in 1965 by the Lone Star Press, which was a euphamism for Cooper Ragan, who has helped many a historical effort. The book was interesting, it was helpful to genealogists, and it was successful. I have mailed copies to relatives as far away as Washington state. Now comes *More Early Southeast Texas Families*, which includes biographies of families "from the colonial period when Moses Austin was authorized to introduce his first 300 families for settling in Texas until March 2, 1836." The southeast Texas included in this book embraces the area bounded on the north by El Camino Real from Gaines Ferry to Ayish Bayou and then in a southwesterly direction to the Trinity River; on the south it extends to the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east to Sabine Pass and up the river. This includes all or parts of San Augustine, Sabine, Newton, Jasper, Tyler, Polk, Liberty, Chambers, Hardin, Orange, and Jefferson counties. An attempt was made to include some families from each county, and twenty-nine families are discussed. Except for the Bevil family, there is no duplication from the earlier work. This book was published by Eakin Publications, P.O. Box 178, Burnet, Texas 78611, and may be ordered from them for $10.

Coronado's Children first appeared nearly a half-century ago, and its luster is undimmed. A collection of tales about those

who searched the southwest for treasure, *Coronado's Children* remains one of J. Frank Dobie's best known and best loved works. This is about the fourth time the book has been reissued or reprinted. A fresh foreword by recently retired publisher Frank H. Wardlaw on his association with Dobie while both worked at the University of Texas adds measureably to the present edition. As always, Dobie's stories are good stories; they deal with people and their ways, with the country they lived in and the way they lived in it. Those who have worn out their earlier editions, or who were born too late to get one, will welcome this publication from the University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712. The price is $9.95.

This is something of a Dobie year: also appearing recently is Lon Tinkle's *An American Original, The Life of J. Frank Dobie*. This book is available from Little Brown of Boston for $10. It is the first major biography of Dobie, Texas' master story-teller. Tinkle is himself a major southwestern writer, and is admirably suited for his subject. Dobie was born in 1888, and grew up in the South Texas bush country when the open range days of the great cattle drives had just passed. He knew the men who had lived the deeds, heard their stories and eventually became the person most responsible for preserving them. Dobie introduced the now-famous University of Texas literature course which dealt with the life and literature of the southwest. When scoffed at because critics said there was no literature there, he replied that there was plenty of life and went about his business of being, in the words of the title, an original. By the time of his death in 1964 both Dobie and his subject had achieved international fame, and what was harder, Texas acclaim.

Civil War buffs and Old South advocates will note a new biography about the leader of the Lost Cause, *Jefferson Davis*. The book is by retired University of Kentucky historian Clement Eaton, and is available from the Free Press, a division of Macmillian, for $12.95. Eaton's treatment is the first book on Davis to appear in some time, perhaps evidence of a renewed interest sparked by the continuing publication of Davis' papers by the project headquartered at Rice University. This book is brief, especially in Davis' earlier years, but is worth reading.

Other books received include Ludwell H. Johnson's *Division & Reunion: America, 1848-1877* (John Wiley & Sons:

Somerset, N.J.), for $7.97. It is in the American Republic Series, edited by Don E. Fehrenbacher. It presents controversial interpretations of military and political leadership.

Lawrence Goodwyn's *The Populist Moment, A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America,* published by the Oxford University Press and available in paper for $4.95, is also controversial. In its author's words, "This book is about the flowering of the largest democratic mass movement in American history. It is also necessarily a book about democracy itself. Finally, it is about why Americans have far less democracy than they like to think and what would have to happen to alter that situation."

Three paperback collections of symposia presentations have recently been published by the University of Mississippi Press. *What Was Freedom's Price, The Age of Segregation: Race Relations in the South, 1890-1945,* and *Perspectives and Irony in American Slavery,* are the result of Ole Miss' annual conference on southern history. Essayists include such notable author-teachers as Willie Lee Rose, C. Vann Woodward, Carl Degler, Eugene Genovese, Kenneth M. Stampp, Stanley Engerman, Dan Carter, and George Tindall. Each is available in paper for under four dollars from The University of Mississippi Press, 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson Mississippi 39211.

Finally, Carl M. Brauer's *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction,* published by Columbia University Press, deals with the leadership of Kennedy in the early 1960s in the reconstruction of the nation through civil rights activities. The book recounts how the Kennedy administration responded to a number of dramatic racial crises in the South, including the Freedom Rides, the Albany Movement, the desegregation of Ole Miss, and the George Wallace movement.

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